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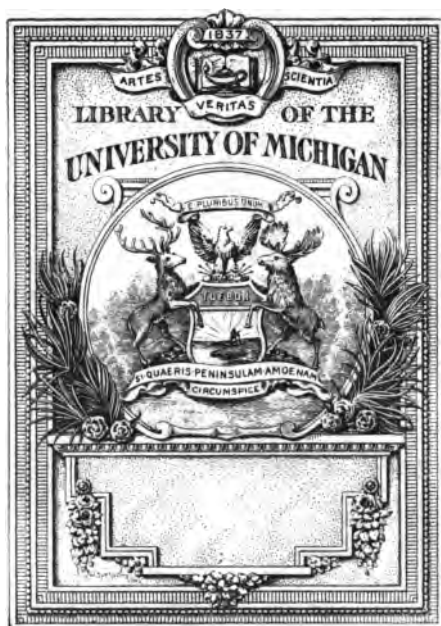
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Samuel Maine

AN
AMERICAN STATESMAN

THE
WORKS AND WORDS

OF
JAMES G. BLAINE

EDITOR, REPRESENTATIVE, SPEAKER, SENATOR, CABINET
MINISTER, DIPLOMAT AND TRUE PATRIOT

A Graphic Record of His Whole Illustrious
Career, Down to the Present Time

BY WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M.
AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF SHERMAN," "STANLEY AND HIS ADVENTURES,"
"HISTORY OF THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD," "SITTING BULL AND THE
INDIAN WAR," "MY COUNTRY, 'TIS OF THEE,"
ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

Bancroft, writing of the American Revolution, declares that its history is in the letters of the great men who took part in it. More widely, it is also to be said that the history of any era in any State is in the records, of words and of works, of the great men who figured therein. The annals of olden times are largely catalogues of battles. But the story of ancient battle ignores the rank and file, and tells us of the individual combats of the leaders. Of parliamentary battles in later ages the same is true ; and the record of progress, in science and literature and morals and invention, and in all the arts of civilization, has each paragraph adorned and vitalized with the rubricated name of some great man or woman.

Thus also is it seen that the full history of any important individual involves the history of the time and State in which he lived. One could scarcely desire a better history of the Revolution than must be given in an adequate biography of Washington. A life of Luther is a comprehensive chronicle of the German Reformation. The story of Lincoln is the story of negro emancipation in America.

PREFACE.

In the present instance it is not intended to attempt a work of such a character. A complete history of any man cannot be written in his lifetime. A full, impartial and philosophic estimate of his worth, and of the extent and importance and effectiveness of his work in the world, can only be made when he has passed into a more extended prospective than contemporary vision affords.

It is possible, however, in considerable measure, to separate the individual from his environment, and to tell the simple story of his personal doings. Especially well may this be done in the case of such a forceful and distinct personality as that of James G. Blaine. It will be to paint a panorama, in which the central figure stands forth conspicuously, outlined in bold relief, while his comrades, and all the landscape about them, are but faintly sketched.

James G. Blaine has been for many years the most eminent man in American political life. In the National House of Representatives he made an enviable record as a painstaking committeeman, an eloquent orator, an unsurpassed debater, and a dignified, commanding and impartial Speaker. In the Senate he easily ranked in the foremost class. As Secretary of State he has conducted the foreign affairs of the Nation with a broad and courageous and skilful statesmanship that has won the admiration of the world. As a party leader and Presidential candidate he has enjoyed such loving, loyal and enthusiastic following as is scarcely to be paralleled in history.

PREFACE.

To trace the progress of such a career is a most grateful task to the historian, as it must be fruitful of pleasure and of profit to the reader. It is to furnish a text-book of American patriotism, a picture-book of many of the most thrilling scenes of recent years, a story-book of narratives equally truthful and fascinating, equally instructive and entertaining. Such is the task that in these pages is essayed. However far it may fall short, in execution, of the ideal, it is at least undertaken with sincere devotion to the theme and with an earnest purpose to reveal the subject with entire truthfulness and with as much completeness as may be possible within the compass of the present volume.

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CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRAL MEMORIES.

The Scotch-Irish Settlers in Pennsylvania—The Blaines—A Friend of Washington—Important Services in the Revolution—Country Gentlemen of the Old School—Founding of the Economite Community—Ephraim L. Blaine and Maria Gillespie—Their Home on Indian Hill Farm, West Brownsville.

Among the many and diverse elements which, during three centuries, have mingled together to form the American Nation, there is none exhibiting a more persistent and commanding individuality than the Scotch-Irish. The people of that stock, who migrated hither in large numbers before the Revolution, seemed to possess the very qualities that would insure success and leadership. Their transplantation—or that of their ancestors—from Scotland to the North of Ireland had imbued them with the colonizing spirit. They had retained the philosophy, the thrift and the energy characteristic of Caledonia, and had added thereto much of the wit, the versatility and the personal magnetism of the best Hibernian types. Less sombre and ascetic than the Puritans, yet far more practical and serious than the Cavaliers, they formed a golden mean between the two. Early in American

history they began to exercise influences greatly disproportionate to their numbers, and down to the present day have continued to be a singularly vital and stressful force, in trades, and businesses, and the learned professions, and also in public life.

By an interesting coincidence, they not only occupied a place spiritually and intellectually between New England and Virginia, but the actual geographical settlement of many of them was in a similar position. Following after Penn, they made their homes in the fertile valleys and among the picturesque mountain ranges of the region that bore his name ; and by their shrewdness and enterprise largely contributed to the growth of that colony into one of the most important States of the Union. Conspicuous among these makers of Pennsylvania was a family that had enjoyed much prosperity and an enviable social rank in the old country, and that now placed in American history a name already famous in the annals of Scotland—the name of Blaine.

Concerning the first generations of that family in America, little needs here to be said ; or can be said, indeed, because of paucity of information. They were well-to-do people, industrious and progressive ; and they possessed themselves of several fine tracts of land, some in the western part of the State, in the neighborhood of Pittsburg and along the Monongahela river, which have since proved rich in iron and coal, and others in

that beautiful Cumberland Valley, which is one of the choicest agricultural districts of the State. It was in the latter region that Ephraim Blaine, the first member of the family of especial concern in the present writing, chiefly made his home.

Ephraim Blaine was a close friend of Washington; a simple, but much-meaning fact. The Father of His Country was not given to making a public assembly-room of his heart. He guarded the approaches to it with jealous care. No comer who could not give the pass-words of soberness and truth, of loyalty and manhood, might hope for entrance. It may, therefore, well be believed that those who were admitted to his confidence and friendship were men of moral and mental worth; and that such was Ephraim Blaine. He was not only a friend of Washington; he was his comrade in arms. He was one of the first to join in the armed contest for independence; he rose to the rank of Colonel in the regular army, and was Commissary-General during the last five years of the war. Nor were his militant services in camp and field, great as they were, the most important that he rendered. He was a man of wealth—for those times—and of wide influence, and he placed his own fortune, and persuaded many of his friends to place theirs, at the disposal of the Government at a time when dollars were of more value than bullets. On more than one occasion, when the Continental Treasury was

empty, he advanced large sums of money for the purchase of supplies for the troops, thus averting discontent and disaster. Especially during that dreadful winter at Valley Forge were his heroism and self-sacrifice of inestimable value to the cause of independence. Washington himself awarded him the credit of saving the army from utter starvation. After the war, the friendship of Washington and Blaine continued, and the first President, together with Hamilton Knox and others, was glad to enjoy the hospitalities of the Blaine mansion, at Middlesex, near Carlisle.

Ephraim Blaine died at his home in the Cumberland Valley in 1804, leaving his eldest son, James, to be the head of the family. The latter was intended by his father for public life. He received a fine education and was then sent abroad to study, to travel, and to gain that cosmopolitan culture that could only be acquired by residence in the European capitals. Having at his disposal a fortune ample for the gratification of his tastes, the young man devoted year after year to this delightful occupation. He had become familiar with every important city of Europe, and a welcome member of its best society, and at the close of the Revolutionary War came home as the bearer of some special despatches of great importance to the Government. He returned to Carlisle endowed with all the intellectual and social wealth that he had gone to seek, but

without that ambition for political preferment for which his father had hoped. Instead, therefore, of entering the public service, he devoted himself to private interests. His life was that of the country gentleman of the old school; enjoying to the full the ease and pleasures his wealth could command, exercising a most generous hospitality, and offering an ever ready hand and purse to every good cause, of charity or of social weal. He did not, however, lead a life of idleness. Ample as was his fortune, he paid keen attention to its enlargement, and showed himself a shrewd and successful business man. He had inherited from his father extensive lands in the western part of the State. Rightly believing that Pittsburg would become a great centre of trade and manufactures, he increased his holdings there, and became the owner of a tract that now is worth many millions of dollars.

The eldest son of James Blaine was Ephraim Lyon Blaine, who was born at Carlisle. His education and early training were much like those of his father. After receiving the best instruction available at home, he was sent to Europe, and there spent several years in study and pleasure-seeking. Thence he went to South America, and to the West Indies, visiting all important places and familiarizing himself with the life and the interests of each country. His father's death recalled him to Pennsylvania, where he found

himself the possessor of a great estate. The family home was at Carlisle. But the bulk of his lands lay further west, and as these were continually increasing in value, and needed close personal attention, he soon found it desirable to remove thither. Accordingly, in 1818, he settled in Beaver County, on the Ohio river. Here, and on the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, he owned thousands of acres of land, mostly covered with timber, and at that time giving no indication of the enormous wealth they now represent.

Five years later Mr. Blaine sold to the community known as the Economites for only \$25,000 the tract of land in Beaver County on which their large and wealthy village of Economy now stands. An interesting account of this transaction has been given by Mr. Jonathan Lenz, one of the principal officers of the Economites, which may properly here be quoted. The community, under the leadership of Frederick Rapp, had first established the town of Harmony, in Butler County, Pennsylvania. Thence they migrated westward, and built the town of Harmony, Indiana, in the Wabash Valley, in 1814, in what was then an unbroken wilderness. The location chosen was an unfortunate one, from the fact that it was swampy and unhealthy, and the strength of the colony was greatly reduced by death. Mr. Rapp finally called the people together and suggested that they return to Pennsylvania, but on putting it to

a vote it was decided to give the new Harmony a further trial, it being suggested that by clearing away more of the forest they might be relieved from the malaria which was so rapidly thinning their ranks. This was done, but without success, and at the end of ten years, in 1824, it was decided to turn their faces once more toward the Keystone State, but to select a better locality than that first hit upon in Butler County. Mr. Rapp, with a chosen band of men from the colony, started out on the 6th of May, 1824, and reaching the Ohio river embarked on the steamboat Plowboy for Pennsylvania. The steamboats of those days did not possess the speed of our present river palaces, and it was not until some time in the month of June that they landed at French Point.

Not far away was the home of Ephraim Lyon Blaine. The house stood well back from the river, in a small clearing, many of the trees cut down to make room for it still lying on the ground unburned. About a hundred yards away from it on the river side the ground was depressed and swampy, the water being at all times knee deep, while further on was the high plateau on the margin of the river, well drained and in a very rich soil. A bargain was struck by Mr. Blaine for the land, and he gave possession of the house in about two months after the purchase.

"The Blaines," continues Mr. Lenz, who was a member of the pioneer party of Economites,

"were liberal livers, fond of good horses and hunting, and men of the best class of those days. The house was comfortably and even elegantly furnished, as you can judge by looking at some of the articles we purchased from them, and which we have had in constant use ever since. Everybody in the Society thought highly of the Blaines, and were sorry when they left the neighborhood. We all went to work with a will, and soon had a number of log and frame houses erected and ready for occupancy, the work of clearing the ground having first been done. Our first church was a large structure, built of shell-bark hickory logs fifty feet long, which I myself squared, having while in Indiana learned to use the broad-ax as part of my trade as a wagon-maker. This edifice stood for fifty-five years, and was only torn down then because it had decayed and become shabby looking. When we had sufficient house-room in the settlement Mr. Rapp moved into the great house, and in 1825 the main body of the colony joined us.

"When Mr. Rapp vacated the old Blaine house, it was determined to take it down and remove it to the village, there to be re-erected. At its former site it stood against an embankment, and the lower story was in the nature of a basement. When set up on level ground it was a large two-story structure, as you now see. It contains all the original material, even to the plastering, and

has been used by us as a school-house. In size of ground it is 45 x 55 feet, with five rooms on each floor, most of them being very large. It had been occupied by the elder Blaine ten or twelve years when we bought it, and consequently must be more than seventy years old, yet is in a good state of preservation."

The wife of Ephraim L. Blaine was Maria Gillespie. This name indicates Scotch origin. But the Gillespies were not, like the Blaines, Presbyterians in religion, but ardent and devout Roman Catholics. Their home was in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where they were large land-owners and ranked high among the local aristocracy. One of them, Neal Gillespie, crossed the Monongahela river into Washington County and built a stone house on his farm at West Brownsville—known as Indian Hill farm. Here he exercised a country gentleman's hospitality, like that of the Blaines. The house was large and commodious, and surrounded by gardens and orchards, with vast fields of grain and grass and pasture land extending along the river. Not far away was the old residence of Albert Gallatin, and many other notable men of those days lived near by.

Maria Gillespie was the daughter of Neal Gillespie, and was born in this stone mansion at West Brownsville. She was noted all through that region for her remarkable beauty, and was

still more esteemed by all who knew her for her high intellectual and spiritual gifts. Said one of the "oldest inhabitants" of that neighborhood: "I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine, and he and I went to school together, and I knew him nearly all his life. He was a leader in mischief in the school, and always a lover of the good things of the world. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and his wife was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted." Mr. Blaine and Miss Gillespie had been brought up in the most widely different religious beliefs, and after their marriage they retained those creeds without clashing or controversy. Each respected the conscientious convictions of the other, and to the end of their lives he was a Presbyterian, she a Catholic. By her consent, indeed by her wish, however, their children were instructed in the Presbyterian faith.

The characteristic thrift of the Scotchman was not conspicuous in Ephraim Lyon Blaine. It was subordinated to the open-handed hospitality and careless ease of the Celt. As a result, his fortune dwindled. From Beaver County he moved down into Washington County, and settled at West Brownsville, and married Maria Gillespie. He owned a considerable tract of land in that neighborhood. But at his wife's desire they made their

home on some of her own property, known as "Indian Hill Farm," adjoining her birthplace. Here they built a substantial wooden house, two stories high, which is still standing, in good repair. It is close to the road, with only a narrow strip of grass in front. At the rear there is an ample garden, extending almost to the Monongahela river. Here Ephraim Blaine and Maria Gillespie, his wife, lived for many years, and here their child, the famous subject of this history, was born and spent his early years.

Impaired fortunes presently compelled Ephraim Blaine to seek employment in the public service. For a number of years he was Justice of the Peace at West Brownsville, and was consequently known to his neighbors as "Squire" Blaine. Then, in 1843, he was elected Prothonotary of Washington County. This made it necessary for him to remove to Washington, the county seat, taking, of course, his family with him. There he made his home for the remainder of his life. At his death, his remains were interred at West Brownsville, as were also those of his wife; and at the present time there may be seen, in the shadow of the old, time-beaten village church, two graves marked with a single stone, bearing the inscription, "Ephraim L. Blaine and Maria Gillespie Blaine."

CHAPTER II.

CHILDHOOD AND STUDENT LIFE.

The Influences of Heredity—A Characteristic Incident of Childhood—First Studies at Home—At School at Lancaster, Ohio—Entering Washington College—The Roll of His Classmates—His Leadership in College Life—His Rank as a Student—Little Participation in Athletic Games—Incidents of Student Life—An Original Demonstration—The Programme of Commencement Day—The Prophetic Subject of His Commencement Oration.

It has been justly observed that a man's education, to be complete, should begin with his grandparents. In the light of that principle the boy that was born to Ephraim L. and Maria Gillespie Blaine at the Indian Hill farm, West Brownsville, on January 31, 1830, began his education in a most auspicious manner. His ancestry, on both sides, as we have seen, was an admirable one. It united the traits of thrift, sagacity, enterprise, industry, loyalty to the State, loyalty to kin and friends, intellectual and physical vigor, love of culture and love of adventure, natural leadership, and indeed all the qualities of the best American manhood and womanhood. Assuredly the child that should inherit such a nature would be well equipped for whatever lot might befall him in life.

These advantages of heredity, however, cannot be regarded as the sole reason of the distinguished

success attained by the subject of this work. Doubtless hundreds of other children were born in the State of Pennsylvania in that same year of equally estimable parentage and with equally favorable influences of ancestry and early environment. Nor can we ascribe his high achievements to any fortuitous circumstance of early or later life. There are those who, as has been said, have greatness thrust upon them. Some event, entirely beyond the compass of their own effort, brings to them an opportunity of distinction. And some have even attained eminence who actually had not the readiness of talent to embrace and improve such an opportunity when it was offered to them, but literally had it forced upon them. Such, assuredly, was not the case with James Gillespie Blaine. He was no more born to greatness than a host of his fellow-Americans whose names have remained unknown to public record and to public fame. In no event of his life can it be said that greatness was thrust upon him. Whenever opportunity of meritorious achievement presented itself, he was ready in spirit and able in talent to improve it. But even such circumstances presented themselves to him in no extraordinary degree; certainly no more than to the average American of his time. Only one alternative is therefore left: to regard him as a man who has achieved greatness by the force of his own inherent genius. As we shall unfold the chapters of his

life, one by one, and shall review, one by one, his achievements in many departments of human industry and public service, this fact will become more and more apparent.

He was born, as already stated, at West Brownsville, on January 31, 1830. He received in his infancy two names, James, for his accomplished grandfather, and Gillespie, for his mother. Of his childhood years but little can here be recorded. The parents and others who watched over him at that time and observed his growing traits of character and manifestations of spirit and intellect, have passed away, leaving no record of their memories of him. His own recollections of his early years are not sufficiently clear and detailed to shed any especially interesting light upon that period of his history. There is no reason to suppose that his infancy and childhood were marked by any extraordinary events, or indeed by any unusual manifestations of genius on his part. Like other children, he had his lovable and winning traits, and now and then his fits of mischief and naughtiness. He was petted and beloved by his parents, and now and then, doubtless, corrected and chastised. Like other children, he played about the house and garden and along the banks of the river; he had his cronies among the boys and girls of the village; he robbed birds' nests, and teased cats and dogs, and set traps for rabbits and squirrels. In fact, he

was probably just an average healthy, happy, intelligent child.

A single incident of his early years has been put on record, well authenticated. It is worthy of repetition, as indicating the sturdy, self-reliant and aggressive spirit, which has made him in later years such a forceful leader of men in many a hot campaign. When he was some three or four years old, a new well was dug near his father's house. Attracted by the appearance of the work, he toddled up to the spot and peered over the brink into the excavation. One of the workmen, standing below, looked up and saw him, and, with the view of frightening him away, out of possible danger of falling into the well, made an ugly face at him and some menacing gestures with his shovel. But the child was not frightened. To his courageous little mind, it was a case of fighting, not for running away. Stooping down, he seized from the pile of fresh earth that had been thrown out of the well clod after clod, as large as he could lift, and hurled them down at the workman, crying, "There ! take that ! and that ! and that !" This vigorous bombardment discomfited the workman, who feared that the little fellow might begin throwing stones instead of clods, and he was presently glad to shout for help at the top of his voice, until the mother was attracted to the scene and led the pugnacious little fellow away.

The account already given of his ancestors for several generations shows that they were a family earnestly given to the acquirement of education and liberal culture. His father's worldly means were now so reduced that it was not practicable to give the boy such educational advantages and experience of foreign travel as his father and grandfather had enjoyed. But all advantages that were within reach were fully and earnestly improved. James received his first lessons from his father and mother, at home, and they were both eminently well fitted to lay the foundations of his academic education. Next, for a time, he attended the village school at West Brownsville. The third step was a much more important one and probably had some determining influence over his entire career. At between ten and eleven years of age he was sent to Lancaster, Ohio, to live with his uncle, Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. He continued his studies there in company with Mr. Ewing's son, under the direction of William Lyons, an uncle of that Lord Lyons who was afterward for a number of years British Minister at Washington. Mr. Lyons was a scholar of fine attainments and also a cultured and experienced man of the world, and was particularly well fitted to prepare the boys for college. Mr. Ewing's home was, moreover, a very important political headquarters, and a place of resort of many of

the public men of the time. Young Blaine, therefore, gained there his first practical knowledge of politics and public affairs, and his mind received an impulse in that direction which decided the nature of his activities in future life.

Ephraim L. Blaine became prothonotary of Washington County, as already recorded, in 1843, and went to live at Washington, the county seat. This town was also the seat of a small institution of higher learning known as Washington College, which had been chartered as an academy in 1787, and in 1806 had been raised to collegiate rank. It was still a small institution, but was well equipped in most respects, having an excellent Faculty, and was probably as good a college as was to be found in that part of the country. Mr. Blaine decided to enter his son there as a student, so that he might live at home while pursuing his college course. This was done in the fall of 1843, James being then only thirteen years old. The class of 1847, which he entered, numbered thirty-three boys, the oldest of them being nineteen, and James G. Blaine, at thirteen, being the youngest.

The members of this class were, with their subsequent professions, as follows : George Baird, physician ; Andrew Barr, minister ; James G. Blaine, statesman ; Robert C. Colmery, minister ; Josiah C. Cooper, physician ; Thomas Creighton ; George D. Curtis ; Cephas Dodd, physician ;

Hugh W. Forbes, minister ; Alexander M. Gow, president of Dixon College ; John L. Hampton, lawyer ; John C. Hervey ; R. Campbell Holliday, lawyer ; John G. Jacob, editor ; Richard H. Lee, lawyer ; John V. B. Lemoyne, lawyer and member of Congress ; Lafayette Markle, lawyer and editor ; Gasper M. Miller, physician ; James R. Moore, principal of Morgantown Academy ; William S. Moore, lawyer and editor ; M. P. Morrison, physician ; Robert J. Munce, physician ; Edward B. Neely, lawyer ; William M. Orr, lawyer ; Thomas W. Porter, lawyer ; Samuel Power ; William H. H. M. Pusey, lawyer and member of Congress ; Huston Quail, lawyer ; John A. Rankin ; Robert Robb, minister ; James H. Smith ; John H. Storer, physician ; and Alexander Wilson, lawyer.

Young Blaine passed his entrance examination creditably, and quickly took high rank in his class as a student, while personally and socially he was one of the most popular boys in college. During his freshman year he was one of the champions of the class in resisting the aggressions and hazing inflicted by the sophomores. In the later years he was noted for his kindness and generosity to the members of the successive freshman classes that followed him. He was always ready to assist and to advise them, to introduce them to the ways of the college, and to make their lives as pleasant as possible. Whenever disputes



BURIAL PLACE OF BLAINE'S PARENTS.

arose between the members of his own or of other classes, he was almost certain to be called upon to act as arbiter, and his decision was seldom disputed. In athletic sports he took comparatively little part. He was tall, strong and well developed, and might have been the champion of his class on the foot-ball field and elsewhere, had he cared for such distinction. But he did not. Now and then he participated in running matches and other simple contests. But from the rougher sports of the athletic field he held aloof. Boating, fishing and hunting were his favorite diversions, and to them his holidays were largely given.

His favorite studies, and those in which he most excelled, were mathematics and logic. He delighted in close reasoning and cogent argument. In mathematics he was the favorite pupil of his teacher, Professor Aldrich, and he easily excelled all his classmates in that important branch of learning. In history and the other English branches he also ranked near the head of his class, and in the classics his work was at least fully up to the average. In general literature he was a diligent and earnest reader, and he soon made himself well acquainted with all the standard works of English literature contained in the college library. Every book and pamphlet relating to American history within his reach he read and re-read, until every fact

contained in it was indelibly recorded upon his memory. In later years, as we shall see, this study of the story of his own country served him most usefully, both in his own historical writings, and also in his debates in Congress.

If incidents of his childhood are few, such is not the case with stories of his college life. Many of his classmates have told interesting tales of his doings in the class-rooms and in the social gatherings of the students. One of them says that he was, in person, "a raw-boned, angular fellow, with a big nose, and so was familiarly called 'Nosey' Blaine." Another describes him as a boy of pleasing manners and agreeable address. He was a better scholar than student; that is to say, his natural quickness of perception and power of memory exceeded his ability to apply himself to his text-book. He mastered his lessons far more quickly and more readily than most of his fellows. In the literary society to which he belonged he was always a leader, and he showed himself there a natural politician and parliamentarian. Another of his classmates remembers him as having a slight impediment of speech, almost amounting to stuttering. This proved a detriment to him in declamations and debates. One day young Blaine said to his classmate, "Bill, I would like to be president of our literary society. Can't you work it up for me?" The other expressed surprise, saying, "Why,

what do you know about it? You have never taken any part in the debates or other active work of the society, and I don't believe you know anything about parliamentary law." "No," said Blaine, "but that doesn't matter. I can commit Cushing's Manual to memory in one evening." This was no idle boast. Blaine did commit every rule in the Manual to memory in one evening, so thoroughly as to be a complete master of parliamentary practice. At the next election he was chosen president of the society, and was the best presiding officer it ever had.

During his college life, Blaine lived at home, in his father's family. One morning he was sent to market to buy a turkey. It was early in the morning, before breakfast. When his father came to the breakfast table, the colored cook greeted him with, "Massa Blaine, dat dar turkey what Massa Jim buyed dis morning am de queerest turkey I's ever see." "Why, what's the matter with it?" asked Mr. Blaine. "Isn't it big enough? It surely ought to be, for Jim paid a dollar for it." "Oh, yes, Massa Blaine, it am big enough. but it am de funniest turkey dis nigger ever see." Mr. Blaine thereupon went to the kitchen to see the fowl, and found it to be a rather venerable goose. He forthwith called James in and told him he ought to be ashamed of himself for being thus imposed upon. "Fifteen years old, Jim, and can't tell a turkey from a goose!" "Well," replied the

boy, "I'd like to know how you expect me to tell a turkey from a goose when its feathers are off!"

A characteristic class-room incident, showing his independence and originality of thought, is as follows: One afternoon in May, 1846, in the mathematical room, he went to the blackboard to demonstrate a problem. He drew the correct diagram upon the board, and was proceeding with his oral argument, when Professor Aldrich interrupted him. "James," he said, "you are not following the demonstration of the author at all." Quick as a flash the lad replied, "What difference does that make, Professor? If I can demonstrate it in some other way, just as positively, isn't it just as well to do so?" The other boys laughed at this, but the Professor, admiring the boy's audacity and unquestioned ability, let him go on with his original method of proving the proposition.

In social circles in Washington, outside of the college, young Blaine was a great favorite, both among young men and young women. He was always neat and careful in his dress and deportment, and while fond of fun, was never guilty of any discreditable excesses. Nor did he ever allow his love of social pleasures to lure him away from his duties as a student. Accordingly, when he left Washington, he left behind him in town and college such a reputation for integrity, good behavior, scholarship and manliness, as might have been envied by any of his comrades.

The Commencement Day, on which he and his classmates were graduated, occurred on September 25, 1847. He was then seventeen years and eight months old. His scholarship grades placed him almost at the head of his class, and he was chosen for the second place of honor, to deliver the English salutatory address at Commencement. The members of the Faculty, who very gladly granted him his diploma, were as follows: The Rev. David McConaughty, D. D., LL. D., President; Rev. Wm. P. Aldrich, D. D., Professor of Mathematics; Richard H. Lee, Professor of Belles-Lettres; Rev. David Ferguson, Professor of Languages; Rev. Nicholas Murray, Professor of Languages; Rev. Robert Milligan, Professor of English Literature; John L. Gow, Professor of Municipal Law; James King, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Hygiene.

The following is a copy of the programme of Commencement exercises, with names of the class:

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT
OF
WASHINGTON COLLEGE, PA.
Wednesday, September 29, 1847.

GRADUATING CLASS.

Andrew Barr,	John H. Hampton,	Edward B. Neely,
George Baird,	R. C. Holliday,	William M. Orr,
James G. Blaine,	John G. Jacob,	Samuel Power,
Josiah C. Cooper,	Richard H. Lee,	William H. M. Pusey,
George D. Curtis,	John V. LeMoyne,	T. Wilson Porter,
Thomas Creighton,	LaFayette Markle,	Huston Quail,
R. C. Colmery,	G. H. Miller,	Robert Robe,
Cephas Dodd,	J. R. Moore,	J. A. Rankin,
Hugh W. Forbes,	William S. Moore,	James H. Smith,
Alexander M. Gow,	Robert J. Munce,	John H. Storer,
John C. Hervey,	M. P. Morrison,	Alexander Wilson.

MATRI ALMÆ SIMUS HONORI.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

MUSIC—PRAYER—MUSIC.

- 1st. LATIN SALUTATORY John C. Hervey, Brooke Co., Va.
MUSIC.
- 2d. ENGLISH SALUTATORY AND ORATION, James G. Blaine,
West Brownville, Pa
MUSIC.
- 3d. GREEK SALUTATORY, , T. W. Porter, Fayette Co., Pa.
MUSIC.
- 4th. ORATION—The Sword and the Plough, J. G. Jacob, Wellsburgh, Va.
MUSIC.
- 5th. ORATION—Byron, Huston Quail, Union Valley, Pa.
MUSIC.
- 6th. ORATION—The Era of Napoleon, LaFayette Markle, Mill Grove, Pa.
MUSIC.
- 7th. A POEM—The Collegian, G. D. Curtis, Grove Creek, Va.
MUSIC.
- 8th. ORATION—Moral Warfare, J. R. Moore, Wellsville, O.
MUSIC.
- 9th. ORATION—Poverty Useful in the Development of Genius,
R. C. Colmery, Hayesville, O.
MUSIC.
- 10th. ORATION—The American Boy, . E. B. Neely, Washington City, D. C.
MUSIC—CONFERRING OF DEGREES—MUSIC.
- 11th. VALEDICTORY William M. Orr, Wayne Co., O.
MUSIC.
- BENEDICTION.

The topic of James G. Blaine's oration was not announced on the printed programme. It was "The Duty of an Educated American." This, too, is significant. It showed the trend of his thoughts and purposes, and was in a marked measure prophetic of the life work upon which he was about to enter.

CHAPTER III.

THE TEACHER.

Plans for a Life of Teaching—His First Engagement in Kentucky—An Entire Change of Environment—Difficulties of his Position—Leader in a Free Fight—His Courtship and Marriage—His Contact with Slavery and his Views Thereof—Development of a strong Anti-Slavery Sentiment—His Return to the North—Studying Law and Teaching the Blind—His First Book—Removal to the Pine Tree State.

A great number of young men in this country, every year, immediately after leaving college, seek employment as school-teachers. Such a record appears in the biography of almost every public man of high rank. It is related of many Presidents, Senators and Supreme Court Judges. With some, the intention is to make teaching a permanent profession. But the majority enter upon it merely as a temporary makeshift, as a means of support for a year or two, until they can "settle down" in the profession or business chosen as their life-work. -It is not surprising that so many young men fresh from the class room seek themselves to be instructors in other class rooms. The very experience of their own school life, so fresh in mind, gives them an especial familiarity with the technical details of teaching. Perhaps, too, the sense of freedom and

relief at their emancipation from the authority of their own instructors inspires them, as a sort of poetic vengeance, to seek to exert their authority in turn over other students. In the case of those who really intend to pursue teaching as their life-work, it is probably advantageous to enter upon it immediately after their own graduation. In the other case, where teaching is a mere makeshift or stepping-stone, the wisdom of the entire procedure is gravely to be doubted. The profession is fraught with responsibilities too serious and duties too arduous to be undertaken lightly or without that devotion that alone can exist where the work undertaken is of a permanent nature. He who is a teacher merely for a year or two, until he can get into some better position, is apt to be a perfunctory time-server, careless of the best interests of his school.

When James G. Blaine left Washington College he too became a school-teacher. It was necessary for him to enter some profitable employment at once. His father's fortunes had been steadily declining, and the young man now found himself practically set adrift in the world, with no money or other financial resources, and only a sound mind in a sound body and a well-developed character with which to make his way. It is said, apparently on credible authority, that he had formed a resolution to devote his life to the work of teaching. If such be the case, he probably formed

that resolution under the stress of some momentary impulse. It could scarcely have been the result of deliberate and matured consideration. True, he was physically and mentally well equipped for the work. But the whole trend of his ambitious and masterful disposition was in the direction of some more extended field of action. There might be before him no career more creditable or more beneficent, in its own compass. The work of the true and conscientious teacher is not to be despised by even the greatest genius. But beside the equipment of a teacher, Mr. Blaine possessed other resources that fitted him for more effective work in another sphere ; and of this fact he could scarcely, even at that early age, have been unconscious.

It is safe to assume, then, that he was led to the school-teacher's desk partly by the necessity of earning his own living, partly by some half-comprehended impulse that made him think for the moment that that was his mission in life, and perhaps in still greater measure by some utterly unrecognized and indefinable influence, which men may call destiny or fate or chance, which in an inscrutable manner plays an overruling part in almost every life, and which in this case, altogether unexpectedly and beyond the ken of prophecy, led young Blaine straight into circumstances that unalterably moulded and fixed the whole cast of his life.

Only a few weeks elapsed between the ending of his life as a student and the beginning of of his life as a teacher. He was graduated in the latter part of September. "In October," he says, "I went to Kentucky." Why he went thither is unknown. It may have been merely for the reason that Kentucky was a younger commonwealth than Pennsylvania, and that therefore there seemed to him better opportunities of making his way there. Certainly he found social conditions very different from those of his old home. He went from a free State into a slave State; from a quiet, peaceable community into one where a more restless, aggressive and at times turbulent, spirit prevailed. This very fact was of great advantage to him, for it cultivated and developed his spirit of authority and his gift of leadership. He was brought into contact with people of aristocratic impulses, having an utter disdain of all restriction. For him to establish and maintain authority among them and over them would be no mean task. If he should succeed in it, he would have proven his right to be reckoned as a leader of men wherever he might go.

The institution in which he became a teacher, or professor, as he was called, was a military school at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky. It contained about five hundred young men and boys. They were, nearly all of them, the sons of wealthy slaveholders and planters, imbued with

the characteristic spirit of the Southern aristocracy. A more difficult body to govern, and especially for a stranger from a Northern State to govern, it would have been difficult to find. It was especially trying for Mr. Blaine, because he was yet barely eighteen years old, no older than many of the lads who were to be under his authority. But he addressed himself to the task most tactfully. He did not allow his authority to be for a moment questioned. His commands must be obeyed with military promptness and precision. At the same time he entered as fully as possible into sympathy with the boys. Within a few days after his arrival at the institute he had fixed in his marvellous memory the name of every one of the five hundred. He could not only call any one of them by his given name, but he knew where his home was, and something about his family, and was able to sympathize with his tastes and feelings and to enter heartily into his ambitions. Thus he made all the students feel that he was not only their teacher and master, but their friend and comrade as well. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that he quickly became the most popular member of the Faculty.

A few months after his arrival there, an incident occurred which greatly tried his temper and which also indisputably established his reputation for coolness and personal courage. A question

arose concerning the removal of the school to another place, and a bitter dispute resulted between the Faculty of the school on the one hand and the property owners of the neighborhood on the other. In those days of so-called "chivalry," a resort to physical violence was apt to be made for the settlement of any seriously disputed matter, and this was done in the present instance. There was a desperate *melee*, in which all the members of the Faculty participated and in which knives and pistols were freely used. Professor Blaine had earnestly striven to effect a peaceful settlement of the controversy and to avoid a conflict. When the fight actually began, he tried his utmost to restrain the combatants. But seeing that these well-meant efforts were fruitless, he joined his fellow-members of the Faculty and went in to fight hard and to the bitter end. He used no weapons but his fists, but he employed these with such effect that he was easily the leader of his party, and it was chiefly owing to his prowess that the Faculty came out of the struggle victorious. The prestige which he thus, although reluctantly, acquired, established for him a dominant authority at the school which was never thereafter called into question.

After about three years of service at Blue Lick Springs, that is to say, in the fall of 1850, the young professor came to the conclusion that teaching was not the vocation in which he would

realize the highest destiny of his life. He had given to the work his most earnest attention and fullest devotion. But the duties were irksome to him, and the petty trials and details of the daily routine were vexing to a man of his high spirit and broad views. Moreover, he was entirely out of sympathy with the social system by which he was surrounded in Kentucky. While he avoided coming into direct conflict with it, he disliked it more and more each day, and each day it became harder for him to conceal that dislike. He therefore determined to return to his native State. But before doing so an event occurred which was one of the most important in his whole career. This was his marriage.

The president of the institute at Blue Lick Springs was Colonel Thornton F. Johnson, whose wife was also an enthusiastic educator. Mrs. Johnson conducted at Millersburg, some miles away, a school for girls. Professor Blaine frequently visited this school and there became acquainted with one of its teachers, by name Harriet Stanwood. An intimacy soon sprang up between them. Mr. Blaine's visits to Millersburg became more and more frequent, and at about the time when he determined to return to the North, they became engaged. It is not improbable, indeed, that Miss Stanwood had much to do with the forming of his resolution to leave Kentucky. She herself belonged to the North, her former

home having been at Augusta, Maine. At any rate, they agreed to return to the North together, and early in 1851, just before Mr. Blaine resigned his post at Blue Lick Springs and left Kentucky, they were married.

Another circumstance of Mr. Blaine's life in Kentucky that had a lasting influence upon his career was his personal observation of and contact with the institution of human slavery. He had probably grown up through childhood and youth with feelings of comparative indifference if not of tolerance toward it. He had known nothing of it save by hearsay, and there is no indication that his family or friends impressed upon him any very aggressive anti-slavery opinions. His father was undoubtedly an anti-slavery man. But it is not known that he was conspicuously identified with that cause or that he took more than a passive interest in it. Mr. Blaine has truly said that he imbibed anti-slavery opinions from his earliest youth. Pennsylvania was, of course, a free State. But it lay close to the slave States and its social and business relations with them were most intimate. The Cumberland Valley, in which was situated Carlisle, the old home of the Blaines, was strongly imbued with southern sentiment; and it was a member of Congress from the western part of the State, Judge Thompson, of Erie, who moved the final adoption of the Fugitive Slave bill. So while young Blaine grew up a lover of

freedom and a disbeliever in slavery, he was constantly surrounded more or less by upholders and apologists of that institution. And as he and his family did not engage in open controversy on the subject, they probably regarded it with a certain degree of toleration. At any rate, his attitude toward it, down to the time of his residence in Kentucky, was one of passive rather than active hostility.

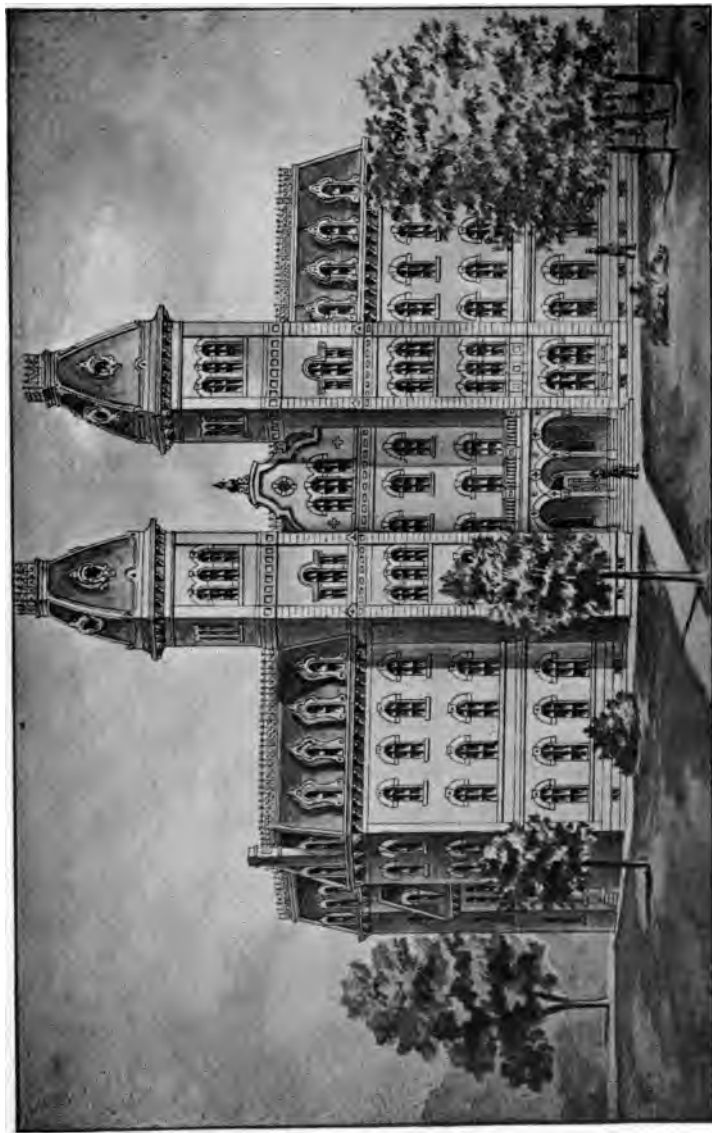
Kentucky was, of all the slave States, that in which the condition of the negroes was most tolerable, and in which the institution of slavery assumed its least offensive form. What Mr. Blaine saw and heard, however, was enough. His manhood revolted against it. The anti-slavery sentiments of his childhood and youth were now, in his early manhood, quickened into new and active life. And before he left Kentucky he was possessed of an ardent and unquenchable hatred of slavery, and a fixed purpose both to oppose its further extension and to labor for its total abolition. A few years afterward he had occasion to refer to this incident in his life, in language which may well be quoted here. It was after he had settled in the State of Maine and was editing a newspaper there. In his writings he was outspoken in the cause of freedom. A rival sheet took him to task, therefore, on the ground that, having lived in the South and enjoyed its hospitality, he should not speak against its

institutions. To this queer attack the young editor made the following vigorous reply :

"We find the following precious morceau in *The Age* of Saturday last :

"One of the editors of the new Morrill organ in this city has too recently partaken of the "slaveholder's salt," and reposed beneath the shadow of the "peculiar institution," to authorize him to lecture contemporaries on their duty to the cause of "freedom." We would recommend to his consideration Shakespeare's advice to new beginners in the art theatrical.'

"We—the editor referred to in this would-be severe paragraph—have to plead guilty to a residence of four years, prior to and including 1850, in the State of Kentucky. We were engaged in what we still consider the honorable capacity of a teacher in a literary institution, then and now in deservedly high standing with the several States, both North and South, which patronize and sustain it. Invited to take the position for a certain pecuniary consideration, which we regularly received, and having to the best of our ability and to the satisfaction of all concerned discharged our duties, we have been under the impression that the matter was closed and nothing due from either party to the other in the way of personal obligation or political fealty. *The Age*, however, seems to think that, having partaken of the 'slaveholder's salt' (for which we paid), we should be dumb to the slaveholder's wrong-doing. So conscious are they of the potency of a little 'administration salt' in shutting their own mouths



WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE.

and stifling their real sentiments on the slavery question that they cannot conceive of any one taking a more independent or more manly course.

"We beg leave further to say (since we are reluctantly forced into this allusion to self) that the anti-slavery sentiments which, from our earliest youth, we imbibed in our native Pennsylvania—the first of the 'old thirteen' to abolish slavery—were deepened and strengthened by a residence among slaveholders, and that nowhere, either on slave soil or on free soil, have we expressed other feelings than those of decided hostility to the extension of the withering curse.

"Our residence in the South gave us, we hope, the advantage of a thorough comprehension of the question of slavery in all its aspects, and of the views of the men who sustain it. It taught us, among other things, that slaveholders, whilst wholly unreasonable and even perfidious in their aggressions upon freedom, have yet the magnanimity to depise a Northern traitor; and that all organists and apologists of dough-facery, after earning the contempt of freemen at home, have only for consolation the kicks and cuffs of their Southern masters.

"But we forbear; the opinion now current is that our neighbors of *The Age*, in consenting to preach acquiescence under the 'crushing out' process of Pierce and Cushing, went it dirt cheap, and have even failed to receive the whole of the

stipulated compensation. Under this belief the derision which they so richly merited, and at first so bountifully received, is rapidly subsiding and giving place to a feeling of pity ; in this, we trust, we have the generosity to share, and cannot, therefore, find it in our heart to add a single taunt or unkind remark."

It was in the spring of 1851 that Mr. Blaine and his bride turned their faces toward the North. His intention now was to study and engage in the practice of the law. He accordingly returned to his old home in Washington County and for a time read law in the office of his father. In the summer of 1852, however, he removed to Philadelphia to complete his law course under the guidance of Theodore Cuyler, Esq. In order to maintain himself and his family while he was finishing his law studies, he determined to continue work as a teacher. Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia he learned that a new teacher was required in the boys' department of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. Accordingly, he went thither one afternoon at the beginning of August and made application for the place. There were thirty or forty other applicants at the same time, and he had no letters of introduction and no influential friends to aid him. His appearance and manner, however, so favorably impressed the authorities that he was immediately engaged to be the principal teacher of the

boys. He brought his young wife and their infant son, Walker, thither, and for two years they made their home in Philadelphia. The institution was situated at the corner of Race and Twentieth streets, and both Mr. and Mrs. Blaine devoted themselves earnestly to the welfare of its inmates. He was a teacher of mathematics and other branches, and Mrs. Blaine assisted him and often read aloud to the pupils. She thus read to them nearly all of the works of Dickens.

There is still to be seen in the office of this institution a most interesting memorial of Mr. Blaine's work there. It is his first important literary production, a thick quarto manuscript volume, bound in dark brown leather and lettered "Journal." The title-page bears the following inscription in ornamental penmanship, executed by William Chapin, the principal of the institution :

JOURNAL
of the
PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION
for the
INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND,
from its foundation.

Compiled from official records
by
JAMES G. BLAINE,
1854.

Mr. Blaine prepared this work with great labor from the minute book of the Board of Managers, giving in it a historical account of the institution from the date of its foundation to that of his departure from it. It is remarkable for the careful method of its arrangement. At the beginning is a table giving explanations of all abbreviations used in it. Then come some "Notes in Regard to the Origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind." There follow 188 pages of records, all entered by Mr. Blaine with the utmost neatness and accuracy. At the end of each year's record is an elaborate table, summarizing the statistics given in the preceding pages. There are also alphabetical lists of officers of the institution, and the thirteenth name among those of the "principal teachers" is that of James G. Blaine, in his own writing, with the date "from August 5, 1852, to ——." The record is completed with the date written by another hand, "September 23, 1854."

Mr. Chapin, the principal who accepted Mr. Blaine's application and who was associated with him during his two years of service, says that while a large number of persons answered his advertisement for a teacher, he had no hesitation whatever in selecting Mr. Blaine, so favorably was he impressed by his manly presence and intellectual features. He was not disappointed in his choice. Mr. Blaine had to teach his pupils

chiefly by the oral method, and for this difficult work his brilliant mental powers were exactly suited. He was a good talker ; he was fluent, and his choice of words was admirable. His memory of facts and figures and persons was extraordinary. He was young and impulsive, and was apt to jump at conclusions, but his conclusions were usually correct and he was always ready to defend them by argument.

One of those who were pupils under Mr. Blaine says that they all had a sincere and hearty affection for him and for his wife. "They were both always ready to do anything for our instruction or entertainment, and they thus employed a great deal of their leisure time upon which he had really no claim. Mrs. Blaine used to read Dickens to us, and Mr. Blaine often read from a most amusing work entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.' Now and then we would have a spelling bee. Usually Mr. Blaine gave out the words that were to be spelled. But sometimes he would let one of the older boys do that and would himself take a place among the pupils. Then we would have great fun in trying to spell him down."

Mr. Blaine completed his law studies in Philadelphia, but did not enter upon the practice of that profession. Nor did he tarry long in that city. He thought he saw in the vast field of journalism ample scope for the exercise of his abilities, and especially for that leadership of

thought which was an essential and dominant note of his character. Mrs. Blaine, moreover, had a strong desire to return to her old home in the Pine Tree State. Accordingly, in the summer of 1854, to the great regret of all the students and of his associates in the Faculty, he resigned his place in the Institution for the Blind and turned his face again toward the North and East. He went with his wife and child to the beautiful city of Augusta, on the Kennebec river, there to make their permanent home. Thenceforth his fame was identified with that commonwealth, and he was known as "Blaine of Maine."

CHAPTER IV.

THE EDITOR.

Political Condition of the Country—The Slavery Question Dominant—Mr. Blaine's Removal to Augusta and Editorship There—Samples of His Vigorous Writing—His Share in the Organization of the Republican Party—A Delegate to Its First National Convention—His First Stump Speech—Advocacy of the Principles of the New Party—Removal to Portland—Three Years of Service in the Maine Legislature.

Mr. Blaine entered upon his political career, as a journalist, at a singularly important period in the history of the United States. The "impending crisis," which had been impending since the government was founded, was evidently near at hand. Webster, Clay, Benton, Calhoun, Douglas, Seward, Sumner, Davis and their compeers were the men of the hour at Washington, the leaders of the two great parties. The Mexican War had just been fought, for the benefit of the slaveholding South. The discovery of gold in California had led to the swift establishment of a mighty commonwealth on the Pacific coast. Other territories and States were being organized in the West, and the question of the day was whether they should be slave or free. The settlement of this question also involved the question of the perpetuity of slavery itself, and the continued dominance of slave-state influence at Washington.

If the new States were free, the slave power would soon be in a hopeless minority in Congress and in the Electoral College. The legislation of the Nation would no longer be in the interest of slavery. The Fugitive Slave law would be repealed. And the "peculiar institution" would be doomed.

There were still those who looked for a peaceful solution of the problem, and they sought that end by compromises which settled nothing and scarcely postponed the crisis. Others foresaw clearly that an appeal would at last be made to arms. One thing was evident to all, that a considerable reorganization of parties, largely on sectional lines, must soon be effected. Indeed, it was already in progress. New leaders were coming forward, new rallying cries were heard. Should slavery be extended or restricted, was the immediate question. Should slavery continue to exist, was heard in its echo; and beyond that, should the States or the Nation be sovereign.

Already there had been scenes of violence in many places. Arthur Tappan had been mobbed in New York, Prudence Crandall in Connecticut, William Lloyd Garrison in Boston, and Orange Scott at Worcester, for daring to speak against the crime of slavery. Scores of other estimable men and women in many places had met with similar ill-treatment. Owen Lovejoy had been murdered in Illinois, and his assassins acquitted.

Samuel Hoar had been expelled from South Carolina. By these and other means the slave power gave it to be understood that it would resent and resist with physical force any attempt even to criticise its conduct. These things occurred in Mr. Blaine's childhood. While he was a student, Texas was annexed, the Mexican War was fought, and the Wilmot Proviso was enacted.

While he was a teacher in Kentucky, the Free Soil party came into prominence; Zachary Taylor was elected President by the Whigs on a non-committal platform; the struggle over the question of slavery in the Pacific Coast territories was ended, for the time, at least, by Mr. Clay's celebrated compromise measure of 1850; and the infamous Fugitive Slave law was put upon the statute book. This latter act became a law on September 18, 1850, and immediately a National campaign of slave hunting was organized. In Pennsylvania slave hunts were especially numerous, owing to the proximity of that State to the slave region, and they were conducted with almost incredible brutality. Kentucky, too, witnessed many dreadful scenes, of hunting, torture and murder of negroes who were trying to escape from bondage. These things came directly under Mr. Blaine's observation, and filled his mind with wrath and with a stern determination to make his life-work tell for freedom.

During his life in Philadelphia, the young professor witnessed the triumph of the pro-slavery Democracy in the National election of 1852, and the commencement of the dreadful struggle in Kansas. Three of the chief party leaders, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, had died, and others were coming forward to take their places. The Whig party was on the verge of dissolution, and the Republican party was rising into importance. Congress, by its conduct over the Kansas-Nebraska bill, had practically invited a physical conflict in those territories. The invitation was accepted. New England colonists flocked thither, as permanent settlers, determined to keep Kansas free, by force of arms if need be; and Missouri "border ruffians" also went thither, equally determined, by force of arms, to impose slavery upon the young Commonwealth. This bloody conflict was just fairly begun when, in 1854, Mr. Blaine removed from Philadelphia to Augusta, and, becoming one of the editors of *The Kennebec Journal*, began to exert upon public affairs the influence of his brain and pen.

The State of Maine was at that time a more important member of the Union than it is at the present time; not that it has declined, but that other portions of the country have so greatly increased in population and influence. Its newspapers ranked high as exponents of political principles and leaders of public thought. And among

them *The Kennebec Journal* occupied a prominent position. It was, indeed, the most important paper in that part of the State. William H. Wheeler and William H. Simpson were its owners, the former being also its chief editor. In the fall of 1854, Mr. Wheeler retired, selling his interest to his partner, and almost immediately afterward, Mr. Simpson disposed of the entire property to Joseph Baker and James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine was assisted in the operation by his wife's brother, Jacob Stanwood, of Augusta. The new firm took possession of the paper on November 10, 1854, and made the following editorial announcement of their purposes :

“Politically, *The Journal* will pursue the same course it has marked out for the last two months. We shall cordially support the Morrill or Republican party, the substantial principles of which are, as we understand them : freedom, temperance, river and harbor improvement within Constitutional limits, homesteads for freemen, and a just administration of the public lands of the State and Nation. We shall advocate the cause of popular education as the surest safeguard of our Republican institutions, and especially the common schools of the State and city. * * We shall devote a department of our paper each week to religious intelligence of all kinds, and desire that our friends of all denominations will consider themselves invited freely to communicate

anything in this department which they wish to have made public, particularly notices of religious conventions, ordinations and meetings of such kind."

This editorial was doubtless from the pen of Mr. Blaine, who became the principal leader-writer of *The Journal*. His articles were, in matter and in style, entirely characteristic. They were marked by the utmost clearness and directness of statement, by cogent and convincing logic, and by great earnestness and courage. He never shrank from controversy on matters of political principle, and he almost never failed to cover his antagonists with confusion. He never waited to see what the drift of public sentiment would be before committing the paper to a certain policy, but unhesitatingly spoke out for the course which he deemed right, regardless of fear or favor. And while his ability to array facts and figures and arguments was extraordinary, he had also the happy gift of inspiring his readers with that intense earnestness and enthusiasm that dominated his own nature.

A volume might readily be compiled from his writings in *The Journal*, a volume of genuine and permanent interest. There is space in the present work for only a few brief quotations. Here is one, introducing the Hon. Cassius M. Clay to the Northern public. Mr. Clay had come to New England to lecture on the question of slavery, and the relation of the Federal Government to

that institution. Mr. Blaine had learned much of him during his residence in Kentucky, and wrote of him in *The Journal* as follows :

“Mr. Clay stands in the front rank of the opponents of slavery, and has taken that position, not with the applause of friends and cheers of approbation from the crowd, but with the loss of good name at home and the sundering of many personal ties, and even more, with imminent peril to life and limb. He braves it all unquailed, though, for he is a man of true moral heroism and undaunted personal bravery. When he first assumed his anti-slavery position in Kentucky, they tried to bribe him with office and place. The Whigs offered him the Lieutenant-Governorship, and then a seat in Congress as Representative, with the reversion of John J. Crittenden’s Senatorial chair. But he scorned their offers, for he was earnest and conscientious in his opposition to slavery. They next tried force, and mobbed his printing office and carried off his press to Cincinnati, like brave men, while Clay was confined to his room with serious illness ; and when all these demonstrations were ineffectual, they resorted to personal violence and hired assassins to seek his blood—but all in vain ; he has conquered even Kentucky, and is stronger this day than at any other time of his life.

“As a speaker, Mr. Clay is very earnest and persuasive ; not polished either in manner or

diction, but still irresistibly pleasing. He speaks from the soul, and the moment you hear him, you are assured that he gives utterance only to what he knows and feels to be the truth and the cause of human freedom.

“Mr. Clay is a man of fine *personnel*, in the early prime of life—being only a few years on the shady side of forty, and, but for his full suit of gray, readily passing for ten years younger. He resembles ex-Vice-President Dallas, who always ranked as the finest-looking man on Pennsylvania avenue.”

A few days later an act of the Legislature of Indiana, then controlled by the pro-slavery party, roused his ire, and he made these scathing comments upon it :

“It is not to be wondered at that a Legislature which would send John Pettit to the United States Senate would perform any other mean act which a dishonest cupidity might instigate or suggest. Accordingly it was reserved for that same honorable body to enact a law in regard to the colored citizens of their State, most oppressive in its daily operations, and most disgraceful from the motives and reasons which induced its passage. Let us give a brief history of it.

“Railroad connection between Louisville, Ky., and Cincinnati has long been a *desideratum*, and would years since have been accomplished but for a jealousy which existed on the part of both cities

as to which side of the Ohio river the road should be built on. For commercial reasons, each city and section desired it should be on their side, while the Kentuckians had an additional objection to its going on the Northern side of the river in the fact that a facility would be thereby afforded for the escape of their slaves. They demanded some security against this terrible danger, and the Indiana Legislature—quick ‘to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning’—immediately responded to the desire of their Kentucky neighbors by annexing a condition to the charter of the railroad company that no colored person should be admitted as a passenger in their cars unless he produce evidence of his freedom.

“The following account of a recent case under the law, clipped from an exchange, will briefly explain its operation and the odious construction by which it is sustained :

“ ‘A colored man in Indiana lately brought suit before a magistrate against the Jeffersonville Railroad Company because they refused to admit him to the cars as a passenger until he produced evidence of his freedom. The justice awarded him twenty dollars damages, but the company appealed to the Circuit Court of Clarke county, and a few days ago the decision was reversed. The Court (which is a free State tribunal) held, although the legal presumption is that all persons

are free, yet the fact being that some colored persons are not free, it is reasonable that the matter should be settled in each case at the time the colored person applies for his seat.'

"Could any argument, pretending to the dignity of a ground for legal decision, be more shallow or more disgraceful? Admitting, as the judge does, that freedom must be the presumed state of every man, he offsets all advantages arising from that presumption by adding that as some colored persons are not free, it is reasonable that the matter should be settled in each case. What is the presumption worth if it must be sustained every time by positive evidence?

"Such legislation is in strong contrast with the course pursued by the Ohio Legislature in 1847, when the subject of granting to a company the right to construct a bridge across the Ohio river at Cincinnati, came before them. The Kentucky Legislature, from whom the right had been obtained, so far as they could grant it, had cumulated the charter with such restrictions in regard to colored people as made the Cincinnati company and all their agents regular slave-catchers. But one honorable course was left to the Ohio Legislature, and they followed it manfully. They refused the charter and reprobated in strong terms, expressed in special resolution, an act that would so far compromise the honor and dignity of a great free State. Would that their



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example had made a deeper impression on their neighbors of Indiana. But we confess that we expect little from that free State which will keep in the Senate of the United States a notorious slaveholder, Jesse D. Bright, and a still more notorious blackguard, John Pettit. We are really afraid that their repudiation of the Nebraska treachery was only a spasmodic effort, to be followed by a lethargic supineness more fatal than actual wrongdoing."

In the political campaign of 1852 there were three parties in the field: the Democratic, opposed to the agitation of the slavery question in any form whatever, in Congress or out of it; the Whig, also discountenancing such agitation, and holding to the Clay Compromise of 1850 as a finality; and the Free Soil, actively hostile to extension of slavery and to all pro-slavery compromises. The Democratic party was well organized, united and vigorous. The Whig party was on the verge of disintegration; and the Free Soil party showed no promise of gaining ascendancy or indeed any important strength. But, as already stated, influences were at work, largely in the Whig party in the Northern States, toward the formation of a new organization, distinctly opposed to slavery and committed to the prohibition of its extension into any of the territories.

The Democrats were successful in the Presidential election of 1852, their candidate, Pierce,

receiving 1,601,274 votes, against 1,386,580 for Scott, Whig, and 155,825 for Hale, Free Soil. Thereafter the decline of the Whig party was greatly accelerated, and it did not strongly figure again in a National contest. In 1854 the American party developed some strength, its chief principle being hostility to the Roman Catholic Church and to foreign influences in politics. Its career was, however, short-lived. At the same time the anti-slavery members of the Whig party, the avowed Abolitionists, and the Free Soilers began to come together on a common platform, denying the right of any territorial Legislature to establish slavery, and declaring it the right and the duty of Congress to admit Kansas as a free State, and to insist upon freedom in all the territories and in the new States that should thereafter be admitted to the Union. Thus was formed the organization known as the Republican party. During 1854 and 1855 it developed considerable strength in various Northern States, and in 1856 made its appearance in politics as a National organization. To it Mr. Blaine gave instant and most hearty allegiance. He was one of its two or three chief organizers in the State of Maine, and his newspaper was there its chief public exponent. The new party naturally met with much opposition and incurred much hostile criticism at the very outset of its career. It was charged with being a sectional organization, and

with threatening the disruption of the American Union. Against these and similar attacks it found in Mr. Blaine one of its most effective defenders. At the close of 1854, while the new organization was still in a formative condition, he wrote in *The Kennebec Journal* as follows, in reply to the comments of a contemporary on "The Permanency of the Republican Party":

"The whole history of parties and opinions in the United States conclusively demonstrates that they are of slow growth, and the result of much toilsome effort and patient seed-growing. From the adoption of the American Constitution in 1789 to 1801 the same class of political opinions was predominant in this government, and Washington and the elder Adams were their exponents. Then there was a revolution, and the Jeffersonian class was inaugurated and continued more than twenty-five years, till the opposition completely died out. Then in 1829 the dynasty of Andrew Jackson commenced, and, with only slight deviations, has continued for about twenty-five years to the present time, till nearly every principle which was originated under his administration has become the settled and permanent judgment of the country and been incorporated into its history and practice. Time and experience have demonstrated their wisdom, or the elastic spirit of the American people has closed over their scars, and all opposition to them has gradually died out, and

they have ceased to be issues of the present day. In the meantime, and extending back about twenty years, new issues have sprung up. Certain minds in the free States began to feel the overwhelming influence of slavery in the government and to behold the disproportionate power it wielded in the election and appointment of the highest officers in the gift of the people, and were alarmed at it. They began to raise their voices of remonstrance against it through the press, the pulpit and forum. It was but a small beginning, but the men who conceived the anti-slavery enterprise were not to be daunted by the vastness of the evil they had attacked or the sneers and opprobrium that were heaped upon them, but with firm hearts and unquailing faith they toiled on, in the morning sowing the seed and at evening withholding not their hand. At first they used only the power of argument and facts, but by and by the time came to carry this question to the ballot-box and to wield its omnipotence to advance their cause. This was in 1840. And thence taking a new impulse, the movement went on, growing little by little by small accretions as the coral builds its mighty reefs, till the anti-slavery sentiment had permeated and filled every vein and artery, and incorporated itself into the whole moral constitution of the free States. While this process was advancing on the one hand, the slave power—as if to illustrate the principle of the

ancients, 'whom the gods wish to destroy they first made mad'—became, on the other hand, more and more desperate in its demand, and, by the aid of Northern subserviency, pushed its schemes of subjugation from conquest to conquest over the rights and equalities of the North, till at last they culminated in the Nebraska act, that measure of stupendous wrong and perfidy. Then it was that all the anti-slavery seeds which twenty years of toil, sacrifice and patience had disseminated through the public mind burst out into an irrepressible flame. The people had restrained these sentiments for a long time, in hopes that the evil would cease without violent remedies. They had endured the compromise of 1850, bitter as it was, the infamous Fugitive Slave act, and all; but at last endurance had ceased to be a virtue, and they could endure no longer. They could no longer smother the flame of liberty that was burning in their breasts, and that, as *The Mercury* says, 'arises from the deepest-rooted feelings and principles' of their natures, and can never go back any more than the water of Niagara, that has once plunged over the precipice, can go back. It must live in the hearts it now animates. Its growth has been slow—twenty long years; its decay will be equally slow. The great Republican party that has suddenly developed itself on the political theatre, embodying the anti-slavery sentiment of the country as its leading characteristic,

when considered in its natural elements, in its history and progress, or in the light of experience, has every appearance of permanency and progress.

"It does not, as *The Mercury* intimates, foreshadow the dissolution of the Union, but its salvation. The slave States will never dissolve the Union. They have too great a stake in its preservation, for the arm of the Federal government is absolutely necessary to keep them from insurrection and massacre by the millions of slaves now groaning under the accursed lash. But dissolution, if it ever come, must come from the free States, stript of their rights and degraded in the government, as they have been for the last twenty years, and goaded on to desperation by a continuance and perpetual repetition of these aggressions. The Union will be saved by arresting the gigantic strides of the slave power towards political supremacy, driving it back into its legitimate sphere and restoring to the North its just and equal rights. But that the other alternative, mentioned by *The Mercury*, may not in the end result from the permanent dominion of the Republican party we are not prepared to deny; on the contrary, it is the hope of many an earnest heart, that beats the warmest in this glorious movement, that God in his wise Providence will make it the instrumentality of the final 'extinction of slavery' in this Republic. In this hope we live and labor,

and will labor while we live, believing that a country redeemed from the shame and curse of slavery, purified and restored to the Republicanism of its palmy days, will be the richest legacy we can leave to posterity. Drive rum as a beverage from all avenues of society ; place the tide of foreign immigration that is pouring in upon us with such fearful power under proper restrictions and in a course of education that shall prepare it, as the American citizen is now prepared, for the high functions of freedom ; strike the fetters from the limb of every slave that breathes in all the vast domain, so that, from centre to circumference, only the glad shout of liberty shall be heard, and the smile of Providence will bless this land as it never has been blessed, and the tide of national prosperity and true glory shall roll on from generation to generation while time shall last."

A few weeks later he wrote again :

"It can no longer be questioned that we have in Maine a well-organized and powerful party, which shares the sympathies and influence of a decided majority of the people. That radical and permanent causes have been operating for years to bring about the present condition of things, is so well known as to need no repetition. Ignored and resisted, as those causes were, by selfish schemers, personal aims, and the force of old party watchwords, they increased yearly in breadth and strength, until they have become one

resistless current of public opinion, fed by the various springs of moral and patriotic feelings, which are so fresh and healthful in the social soil of Maine, on which the ship of State is fairly launched, with the flags of Temperance, Freedom and American enterprise waving proudly at the mast-head. The Republican party, therefore, is not the creation of a few individuals, or the result of tactics ; it is the production of moral ideas which have vegetated in the consciences and hearts of the people. It is pre-eminently the child of ideas and of the people. Strong as these ideas and their friends had shown themselves in the political efforts of the two or three years past, old political organizations had prevented the union of men of like principles in one well-organized party. The men were called by different names, yet they had a common faith and common purposes. Their principles needed expression in a common platform. The people desired one political family and one organization. Right, expediency and necessity called for a Convention. What time more opportune and appropriate than the birthday of Washington ? So ready were the people for action, so manifest the necessity, that a long notice was not required.

“The Convention of the twenty-second was one of the most remarkable and interesting that ever assembled in our State. The numbers in attendance were very large—not less than nine

or ten hundred. It was composed of the true and influential portion of the people from all parts of the State. Its members came in due proportion from all the former political parties, in names of long-established reputation and worth, known in the State and out of it ; in men possessing the confidence and representing the convictions of their respective vicinities, no political assemblage ever held in the State surpassed the one of last week. No body of men could be more united in opinion and resolution. The enthusiasm manifested was not a sudden and transitory feeling, but was the result of a calm, yet intense conviction that a new era had arrived in the politics of the State and the Nation, that high and solemn duties are now devolving on our citizens. The resolutions and the speeches indicated the spirit and the purpose of the Republican party. The remarks of Edward Kent, the President of the Convention, on taking the chair, were able, well-timed, and square up to the faith and determination of a large majority of the people of the State, at the present time. As to the candidate for nomination there was but one opinion. There is one man, who by his past course, his principles and his devotion to them, his courage and iron-willed resolution at the right time, has so endeared himself to a majority of the people that the Republicans demanded his nomination with an enthusiasm which could not well be surpassed.

Rightfully, by popular will, is Anson P. Morrill to be the candidate of the Republicans next September. Even against his strongest personal wishes, the friends of Temperance, Freedom and truly American ideas, would demand that he should be their standard-bearer. As to the principles of the platform, expressed by the Resolutions, we trust they will meet the warmest approval of all true Republicans. They are plainly in consonance with our position as the people of a free State, with our constitutional rights and our relations to the Union. They recognize the laws of God, Liberty and Humanity, as above, yet not in conflict, but in harmony with the laws of the State and all allowable laws of the Nation. They demand that the people, and not the three hundred and fifty thousand nobles, shall control the Government of the country. They demand that the freedom, intelligence, moral interests, enterprise, labor and property of twenty millions of citizens shall be the controlling force of the Government, instead of an audacious, haughty and demoralized class who constitute less than one-sixtieth of the Nation. The doctrines of the Resolutions may strongly resemble the Whig doctrines of the American Resolution. They may be like the Democratic ideas of Thomas Jefferson. They express the principles and the settled determination of the Republicans of Maine, and, as we believe, of that great and truly national party which

is so rapidly gathering numbers, strength and prestige, which is to march into power in 1856, and bring the Government back to the purity and the ideas of its founders, and thus demonstrate to the world that the American people have not forgotten their history, are not blind to what should be the solution of the problem of American destiny."

The first National Convention of the Republican party was held in June, 1856, in the city of Philadelphia. Mr. Blaine was fittingly sent to it as a delegate from the State of Maine and he was chosen one of its Secretaries. The Convention was a heterogeneous body, comprising members of both the old parties and representing all shades of anti-slavery opinion. But it met for a single purpose, upon which all its members were heartily agreed, and to which not one of them was more earnestly devoted than was the brilliant young editor from Augusta. Nor was there much controversy concerning the candidate who should be put forward for the Presidency. William H. Seward, of New York, was the most conspicuous man there and was the undisputed leader of the anti-slavery Whigs. But he did not desire the nomination, nor did his friends desire to urge it upon him. He and they were agreed that it was best for him and for the new party that he should remain in the United States Senate. Salmon P. Chase was also a conspicuous leader of the young

party, but neither did he desire to be its candidate for the Presidency at that time, preferring to fill a chair in the Senate. Justice McLean, of the Supreme Court, was mentioned as a candidate, especially by the older and more conservative element. But the majority of the Convention regarded him as belonging too much to the past. A young and energetic man, a man who belonged to the future, was required. Such a candidate was found in John Charles Fremont, an anti-slavery Democrat, a Senator from California, a gallant army officer, and a noted explorer of the Rocky Mountain region. He was nominated on the first ballot, and the ticket was completed by the nomination, also on the first ballot, of William L. Dayton for Vice-President, his principal rival being Abraham Lincoln.

The work of the Convention was eminently satisfactory to the adherents of the Republican party throughout the Union, and its nominations were ratified by public mass-meetings in almost every city and town throughout the North. Governor Morrill and Mr. Blaine, the leaders of the Maine delegation, were greeted with such a demonstration on their return to Augusta, on Saturday, June 21st. At that meeting Mr. Morrill made the principal address. After him came Mr. Blaine, who on that occasion made his first important public speech. He took his place at the platform with considerable trepidation.

But after his first few sentences he became fired with enthusiasm for his subject, and for half an hour he spoke fearlessly and eloquently. He arraigned both of the old parties mercilessly for their attitude on the slavery question, and portrayed the Republican party as the organization that must thenceforth dominate National politics, creditably solve the great issue of the day, and make the American Union in fact as well as in name a land of universal freedom. This speech inspired every member of the audience with the enthusiasm that the speaker himself so evidently felt, and it marked Mr. Blaine at once as a natural orator who was destined to be as much a leader of thought upon the platform as he was already in the editorial columns of his newspaper. During all that campaign Mr. Blaine was one of the most effective workers for the Republican ticket, both with pen and voice. Young as he was, he made himself the most conspicuous party leader in the State. And although, as indeed was expected, Fremont and Dayton were defeated, the Republican party was established on a permanent foundation, with a bright promise of success in the next National contest; and in no State was its organization made more complete or more efficient than in Maine, under the guidance and inspiration of the editor of *The Kennebec Journal*.

At the beginning of the year 1855, Mr. Baker sold his share in *The Kennebec Journal* to Mr.

John L. Stevens, with whom Mr. Blaine at once formed a new partnership. Mr. Stevens assumed the business management of the paper and Mr. Blaine remained in the editorial chair. In addition to his strictly editorial duties Mr. Blaine also undertook to report the proceedings of the State Senate for the paper, and in that difficult task was eminently successful. He showed himself a perfect master of all the details of Legislative work in every department, and gave to his readers a lucid and comprehensive account of everything of importance that was done. At the same time he maintained the full vigor of his editorial writings, as may be seen from the following, which was printed in February, 1855, on the re-election of Mr. Seward as United States Senator from New York :

“The prayer of the freeman is answered. A question of the highest importance, the right decision of which for months has excited the deepest solicitude, has been solved to the joy of patriotic Americans and for the welfare of the public. By the force of his own character as a man and a statesman, and of the moral and political principles which he represented and in him centred, William H. Seward has been re-elected to the American Senate by the State which in her earlier days gave the Nation a Clinton, a Livingston, a Jay, a Hamilton, and which now with her population, her resources and strength

increased twenty-fold, bears up in her arms freedom's great leader against traitors at home and storms of relentless opposition from abroad. The heart of the nation throbs at the event which, amid exultation and congratulations, lightning and steam are announcing to the true men of this whole continent and of the civilized world. The contest through which he has passed is without parallel in the history of this country. We have waited until the clouds of the conflict were passing away and the cannon of rejoicing had ceased, to express our exultant gratitude at the event to which we have looked forward with the strongest hope and in regard to which, for a brief hour, we had fears. It was our fortune to be in New York city last October when the Union Convention had its session. Mingling quietly with the throngs that crowded the hotels from all parts of the Empire State, we learned much of the real purpose of the men who controlled the deliberations and plans of that Convention. We became satisfied that the guiding purpose of the combinations there made was not love for American principles, not reform in the naturalization laws, but the defeat of Myron H. Clark, and through that result the political annihilation of William H. Seward. Hards, Softs and Silver Grays joined hands, with nothing else to unite them but indifference to freedom and a common hatred of its leading champion. We saw that the influence of tens of

thousands of good men was to be converted to uses foreign to true American principles, and, if successful, disastrous to the position which New York holds among her sister States, in respect to that great issue now before us, whether freedom or slavery shall rule the destiny of this nation.

“Reviewing the field, we saw that nothing but Mr. Seward’s naked strength and the devotion of the people of the Empire State to him and to his principles could rescue him from the combined array against him. We watched the contest with the deepest solicitude. Four months have passed. The coalition of wickedness culminated. The battle is over. The great American statesman is unscathed, and now occupies a prouder elevation before his countrymen than ever before, and a serener and broader future is his secure. Never since the establishment of the Republic has there been a greater necessity for a leading statesman of far-seeing vision, of heroic, unyielding will, of courage that no threat or danger can blanch, of genius to organize and guide. God’s necessity in the affairs of men is always realized in history. We trust the friends of Mr. Seward will not misunderstand the cause and the meaning of his triumph. His election is not the success or the defeat of the old political organizations. His bitterest and ablest foes are among those who claim to belong to the party with which he labored from



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its formation to the hour of its final overthrow. Many of his ablest and most devoted friends and supporters have belonged to the Democratic party. In reality his election has been secured by that party which has been gathering numbers and strength from all former organizations, which has arisen a young giant, soon to be the Hercules to drive the monsters from the national capital and trample under its feet the serpents and vipers which have alarmed and bitten the sons of liberty and poisoned and checked the growth of the best plants of American civilization. Not as the champion of an effete and a rapidly dissolving party, but as a great statesman and sworn defender of freedom and the Union, he finds congenial fellowship with Chase, Sumner, Wade, Fessenden, Hamlin, King, Johnson, Wilson, Strong, Hall, Durkee and that whole school of vigorous and determined men of common blood and aim, who are by the will of God and the people to make it historical fact, ere 1860, that slavery is sectional and temporary, that freedom is national and universal, and that American principles shall rule to the exclusion of ideas and elements which had their birth amid the feudal institutions and the despotism of the old world."

The caustic quality of the same pen is strikingly observable in an editorial published a month later on the adjournment of the Thirty-third Congress. That body had been dominated by the

pro-slavery element, and had committed many acts that were most repugnant to public sentiment throughout the free States. Of it and of its record, and of the prospects for the future, Mr. Blaine wrote :

“ The first days of March have been auspicious not alone as indicating a pleasant spring and a favorable season for the husbandman, but they came loaded with providential blessings to the American people in that they give riddance to that body of men whom, by the necessities of the case, we must denominate the Thirty-third Congress of the United States. It is an event that should give the nation mingled feelings of shame and rejoicing—shame that the free suffrages of the people should have elected to high and solemn trusts men so wanting in right qualification, true patriotism and elevated characters as a majority of that body has shown itself—rejoicing that it is beyond their power longer to disgrace the capitol by their corruptions, their reckless audacity, and their conspiracies against liberty and the broadest and best interests of the Union. If the people of England had reason for joy when Oliver Cromwell drove the rump Parliament out of doors and told its members to begone to their homes, how much more should the citizens of free America manifest their pleasure that time in its long-suffering mercy had put an end to the power of the men who have violated solemn compacts,

struck down the sacred landmarks established by the fathers of the Republic, and committed the government of the country to the principles and policy of a depotism worthy of Rome in her darkest days. A Congress that passed the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and gave so many proofs of a want of elevated patriotism as the one just terminated, would have been ready to elect a monarch or surrender the Republic for an empire, if surrounded by circumstances and pressed by events favoring the exchange. How much of infamy belongs to the existing National Administration we need not now affirm. Enough and dark as night is the part for which God and history will hold it responsible. Two long years more we must endure its power and its debasement, though it may be hoped that a righteous discipline and the nerve and high resolves of the new Republican House of Representatives may keep it from going further down those deeps to which its present animus and impetus would carry it. But our remarks now respect the termination of the Thirty-third Congress. Only of that can we say our sorrows are past. How many and deep these sorrows—how much the nation has lost by the littleness and want of political justice and true statesmanship on the part of the controlling majority of the Congress just closed, posterity and the future historian alone can tell. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Our hope for the future is that the

therefore, is due to him for breaking away from the corrupt influences which pressed upon him and coming out boldly in favor of freedom.

“Atchison, who is the recognized leader of the pro-slavery forces, is again in the territory attending to the spring elections, and using all his efforts to have them carried, as they were in the past autumn, by the imported desperadoes of Missouri. As an offset to these adverse forces, we have encouraging accounts of the success of the emigration societies, who have great hopes of throwing into the territory, during the approaching summer, a sufficient number of earnest Northern freemen to counterbalance all the corrupt influence of the Missouri frontiersmen, and to outvote them at the election in the fall. A party of seventy-six left Boston on the 6th inst., and are already in the territory. A much larger party, though we do not know the exact number, was to have left on Tuesday, to be followed by a third on Friday. These emigrants will meet large numbers from the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, who will reach the territory even in advance of them, and unite cordially with them in their labors in behalf of freedom. These emigration societies form the strong lever with which the North must work to keep the slave power from our territories. They deserve at our hands aid and encouragement—not that we would advise any one to leave our own good State or a

“The opening spring and coming summer will be important and exciting eras in the history of Kansas Territory, and will probably witness the close of the struggle which is to consign that fine land to the curse of human slavery or dedicate it forever to freedom. The newspapers established at different points in the territory are already waging war fiercely—the free press battling manfully for the rights of humanity, and the slave press as earnestly, if not as ably and honestly, working for the introduction and permanent engraftment of the ‘peculiar institution.’ The pro-slavery party are very bitter against Governor Reeder. They cannot forgive him for showing the impulses of an honest heart, and the courage of a bold one, in the stand he took in regard to the frauds practised in the election of congressional delegate last fall. They find to their sore discomfiture, that in the Governor they have ‘caught a tartar’ when they were least looking for one. Identified, as Reeder always was in Pennsylvania, with the hardest of the hard-shell Democrats, and appointed to his present place at the solicitation and by the influence of Senator Broadhead, who voted in favor of the Nebraska bill, the Southern party thought they had secured the game in their own hands, when such a man was selected for Governor. Such also we know was the prevalent belief in Pennsylvania at the time of Reeder’s appointment. The more credit,

comfortable home and prosperous business elsewhere, but merely to direct those who are already seeking a location in the far West, to the fertile plains of Kansas, where, with unexcelled opportunities for improving their personal condition, they will find also the largest field for benefiting their fellow-men by assisting in the foundation of a great and free State."

In the summer of 1858, Mr. Blaine retired from the editorship of *The Kennebec Journal*, and removed for a short time from Augusta to Portland, where he became the editor of *The Portland Advertiser*, an important and influential paper. Here his work was characterized by the same features that had marked it at Augusta, and he showed himself possessed of all the qualities that go to make up a successful journalist. His remarkable memory of facts, figures, names and places was of immense service to him ; so were his quickness and accuracy of judgment ; so were his earnestness and enthusiasm ; so were his courage, his fair-mindedness, and the aggressive spirit that made him such a successful leader of his own party and such a terror to his foes.

The days of his life in the sanctum were, however, numbered. The people of Augusta were too strongly attached to him to allow him to remain long at Portland. If they could not have him among them as an editor, they would have him as a legislator. Accordingly, in September,

1858, they elected him as their representative in the State Legislature; and they re-elected him again in 1859 and 1860; so that he served in the three Legislatures of 1859, 1860, 1861, in the last two being Speaker of the House of Representatives. The same qualities which had given him success as a teacher, and as an editor, also gave him success as a legislator. He showed himself a master of Parliamentary law, a close student of public affairs, an unerring judge of men and of measures, an eloquent orator, and an irresistible debater. As the presiding officer of the House, he was eminently dignified, impartial and authoritative. He never hesitated in making his decisions on points of order, and the justness of them was seldom disputed. When he retired from the State capitol to enter the more important field offered by the National Legislature, he carried with him the respect and the good wishes of all his associates.

CHAPTER V.

REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS.

Some of His Colleagues in His First Term—Relations with President Lincoln—Speeches on the Draft, the Enrolment, and Other Topics—Defence of the State of Maine—Opposition to the Greenback Craze—Three Terms in the Speakership—A Lively Controversy with General Butler—The Salary Grab—Leader of the Minority—A Strong Declaration of Political Principles—Close of His Career as a Representative.

“It is not a good thing,” said Abraham Lincoln, “to swap horses while crossing a stream.” The observation is as truthful as it is simple, and as important as it is homely. Its original application was to the Chief Executive, and to the general policy of the Administration. But it might have been applied with equal fitness, and indeed was in great measure tacitly applied, to leadership in the National Legislature. During the War of the Rebellion, the Republican party dominated all branches of the Government. It had elected its Presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln, in 1860. It had also elected a majority of each House of Congress, a majority that was greatly strengthened by the resignation and departure of the disloyal members from the seceding States. These Republican Senators and Representatives included, naturally, many who were new to public life; and other new recruits were returned at the elections of 1862.

They included, however, a considerable number of experienced men, who, as members of one or the other of the old parties, had for years been eminent in the public service. These latter were in office both before and at the outbreak of the war; they were responsible for the policy of the dominant party, and for the attitude it had assumed and had caused the Government to assume toward the insurgents; and it was, therefore, most wise and fitting that they should retain the leadership until the restoration of peace, and that their younger colleagues, no matter how great their ability, should be content for the time to follow them, rather than strive for the supreme command.

Thus it came to pass that Mr. Blaine, who was elected in 1862, and in 1863 took his seat as a Representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress, did not at once spring into that prominence for which his genius amply fitted him. The files of *The Congressional Globe*, for that Congress and the succeeding Congress, contain few speeches made by him; and the few that he did make were brief, though always pointed and effective. Yet it was evident to the careful observer that he was standing for a time in the background only through personal choice, and that presently, when he deemed the occasion propitious, he would easily step at once into the foremost ranks of contemporary statesmen.

In 1862, the affairs of the Nation were in a most critical condition, and loyal men everywhere throughout the country saw that it was necessary to send only the ablest and staunchest patriots to Washington to conduct the affairs of the Government. Accordingly, the Republicans of the Kennebec district of Maine unanimously selected Mr. Blaine as their candidate for Congress. It was largely owing to his own leadership that that district, and indeed the entire State, had been made overwhelmingly Republican, and it was, therefore, only a fitting recognition of his services that he was elected by a majority of 3,422. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was then the unchallenged leader of the House, and among Mr. Blaine's colleagues were Roscoe Conkling, Schuyler Colfax, James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, James A. Garfield, Samuel J. Randall, William D. Kelley, Elihu B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, John A. Kasson, Henry L. Dawes, William Windom, Alexander H. Rice, Frank P. Blair, Jr., Erastus Corning, James Brooks, Robert C. Schenck, Reuben E. Fenton, George H. Pendleton, Francis Kernan, G. W. Scofield, and many others who have since been eminent in the councils of the Nation.

During his first term in Congress, Mr. Blaine was a member of four committees, those on Rules, Appropriations, Military Affairs, and the Post-

Office, and he quickly won a reputation as an exceedingly careful and industrious committeeman. He paid close attention to the practical work of framing legislation in the committee-rooms, and in debate on the floor of the House proved himself a worthy compeer of his associates. His first important speech was on the subject of the assumption by the General Government of the war debts of the States. He took the ground that the North was abundantly able to prosecute the war to a successful issue, and so highly esteemed was this speech that 200,000 copies of it were circulated in 1864 as a campaign document. Referring to the same speech, Thaddeus Stevens said that during his own period of service at Washington, no man had come to Congress showing, in his opinion, as great ability for the higher walks of public life as James G. Blaine.

The young representative from Maine was of course an earnest supporter of the Administration, and was a strong advocate of the renomination of President Lincoln. In respect to his relations with the President, Mr. Ward H. Lamon, who was Marshal of the District of Columbia and on terms of especial intimacy with Mr. Lincoln, makes the following statement :

"I knew those who were Mr. Lincoln's friends and those who were plotting against him, and I am sure that there was no one among the younger members of Congress on more intimate, cordial

and confidential terms with him than Mr. Blaine, nor was there any one more implicitly trusted by Mr. Lincoln. When the movement was made against Mr. Lincoln in the winter preceding the campaign of 1864, Mr. Blaine was the person with whom Mr. Lincoln constantly conferred about Maine, and I was present at a conference between the two when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to proceed to Maine and see if there was any adverse movement there. Mr. Lincoln became acquainted with Mr. Blaine in Illinois during his memorable campaign with Douglas in 1858. Mr. Blaine was corresponding from the scene of contest with his paper in Maine, and in one of his letters he predicted that Lincoln would be defeated for Senator by Douglas, but would beat Douglas for President in 1860. This letter was copied in several Illinois papers, and Mr. Lincoln cut it out and carried it in his small memorandum book until long after he was inaugurated as President. It naturally laid the foundation for cordial friendship between the two."

A few extracts from Mr. Blaine's remarks in Congress during 1863 and 1864 will show his patriotic attitude towards the great question of the day. Regarding the draft of troops, for example, while he recognized the necessity of the thing and supported the Government in its efforts to bring the army up to the necessary size, he deprecated the unnecessarily harsh provisions

advocated by some of his more extreme colleagues, speaking on the subject as follows :

“A conscription is a hard thing at best, Mr. Speaker, but the people of this country are patriotically willing to submit to one in this great crisis for the great cause at stake. There is no necessity, however, for making it absolutely merciless and sweeping. I say, in my judgment, there is no necessity for making it so, even if there were no antecedent questions as to the expediency and practicability of the measure. I believe the law as it stands, allowing commutation and substitution, is sufficiently effective, if judiciously enforced. It will raise a large number of men by its direct operation, and it will secure a very large amount of money with which to pay bounties to volunteers.

“I cannot refrain from asking gentlemen around me whether in their judgment the pending measure, if submitted to the popular vote, would receive the support of even a respectable minority in any district in the loyal States? Just let it be understood that whoever the lot falls on must go, regardless of all business considerations, all private interests, all personal engagements, all family obligations ; that the draft is to be sharp, decisive, final and inexorable, without commutation and without substitution, and my word for it you will create consternation in all the loyal States. Such a conscription was never resorted to but once, even in the French Empire under the

absolutism of the first Napoleon, and for the Congress of the United States to attempt its enforcement upon their constituents is to ignore the first principles of Republican and Representative Government."

On an occasion near the close of the war, in a speech on the Enrolment Bill, in February, 1865, he spoke as follows in behalf of the soldiers in the field :

"Nothing so discourages and disheartens the brave men at the front as the belief that proper measures are not adopted at home for re-enforcing and sustaining them. Even a lukewarmness or a backwardness in that respect is enough; but when you add to that the suspicion that unfair devices have been resorted to by those charged with filling quotas, you naturally influence the prejudices and passions of our veterans in the field, in a manner calculated to lessen their personal zeal, and generally to weaken the discipline of the army. After four years of such patriotic and heroic effort for National unity as the world has never witnessed before, we cannot now afford to have the great cause injured, or its fair fame darkened by a single unworthy incident connected with it. The improper practices of individuals cannot disgrace or degrade the Nation; but after these practices are brought to the attention of Congress, we shall assuredly be disgraced and degraded if we fail to apply the requisite remedy

In the fall of 1864, Mr. Blaine was elected for a second term in Congress by a majority of 4,328. During this Thirty-ninth Congress he was a member of several important committees and took a more active and conspicuous part in the business of the House than during his first term. Reconstruction of the Southern States came forward as a leading topic of legislation, and in consideration and discussion of it he played an important part. Early in January, 1866, he introduced a resolution on the subject of Congressional representation, which afterward became the basis of that part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution bearing upon that subject. Before that time, the tendency had been to apportion Representatives according to the number of actual voters. The change proposed and largely achieved by Mr. Blaine, based the apportionment of Representatives and direct taxes upon the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.

Mr. Blaine's services at Washington more and more commended him to the confidence of his constituents in Maine; and in the fall of 1866, he was elected for a third term by the great majority of 6,591. In the Fortieth Congress, which he thus entered in the fall of 1867, he was a very conspicuous figure, and was occasionally called to occupy temporarily the Speaker's chair. Said an observant newspaper writer at this time: "Mr.

Blaine is metallic; you cannot conceive how a shot should pierce him, for there seem no joints in his harness. He is a man who knows what the weather was yesterday morning in Dakota, what the Emperor's policy will be touching Mexico, on what day of the week the 16th of December proximo will fall, who is chairman of the School Committee in Kennebunk, what is the best way of managing the National Debt, together with all the other interests of to-day, which anybody else would stagger under. How he does it, nobody knows. He is always in his place. He must absorb details by assimilation at his finger ends. As I said, he is clear metal. His features are made in a mould; his attitudes are those of a bronze figure; his voice clinks; and he has ideas fixed as brass."

At the very opening of this Congress, questions of national finance became prominent. Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, proposed the payment of the national bonds in greenbacks, thus beginning what afterwards became the "greenback craze." Mr. Blaine promptly took the floor in opposition to this financial heresy, making the following statesmanlike declaration of principles in favor of upholding inflexibly the public credit and the national faith:

"The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Chairman, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the

opposite direction ; and the sooner the Nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public Treasury be free from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression, if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars. When that result shall be accomplished, we can proceed to pay our five-twenties either in coin or paper, for the one would be the equivalent of the other. But to proceed deliberately on a scheme of depreciating our legal tenders, and then forcing the holders of Government bonds to accept them in payment, would resemble in point of honor the policy of a merchant who, with abundant resources and prosperous business, should devise a plan for throwing discredit on his own notes with the view of having them bought up at a discount ruinous to the holders and immensely profitable to his own knavish pocket. This comparison may faintly illustrate the wrongfulness of the policy, but not its consummate folly ; for in the case of the Government, unlike the merchant, the stern necessity would recur of making good in the end, by the payment of hard coin, all the discount that might be gained by the temporary substitution of paper.

“Discarding all such schemes as at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy

steadily, but not rashly, toward the resumption of specie payment. And when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof a new series of bonds which can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of the United States securities will be so high in the money markets of the world, that we can command our own terms. We can then call in our five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent, that in some measure surround the existing funded debt of the country.”

When the political treason of President Johnson precipitated a bitter conflict between him and Congress, Mr. Blaine stood with his party against the Administration, and favored the impeachment of the President. He was a cordial supporter of the Republican National Ticket in 1868, and after its election made, on December 10, 1868, in the House of Representatives, the following prophecy and pledge of loyalty to the incoming Executive :

“General Grant’s Administration will have high vantage ground from the day of its inauguration.

Its responsibilities will indeed be great, its power will be large, its opportunities will be splendid ; and to meet them all we have a tried and true man, who adds to his other great elements of strength that of perfect trust and confidence on the part of the people. And to reassure ourselves of his executive character, if reassurance were necessary, let us remember that great military leaders have uniformly proved the wisest, firmest and best of civil rulers. Cromwell, William III., Charles XII., Frederick of Prussia, are not more conspicuous instances in monarchical governments than Washington, Jackson and Taylor have proved in our own. Whatever, therefore, may lie before us in the untrodden and often beclouded path of the future—whether it be financial embarrassment or domestic trouble of another and more serious type, or misunderstandings with foreign nations, or the extension of our flag and our sovereignty over insular or continental possessions, North or South, that fate or fortune may peacefully offer to our ambition—let us believe with all confidence that General Grant's Administration will meet every exigency, with the courage, the ability and the conscience which American nationality and Christian civilization demand."

Mr. Blaine's election to a fourth term in Congress, in 1868, was a matter of course and was effected by a majority of 3,346. When the new House was organized on March 4, 1869, he was

the unanimous choice of the Republican members for the Speakership and was promptly elected to it by 135 votes against 57 for the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, the Democratic candidate. Mr. Blaine was at that time only thirty-nine years old. But he had already shown himself the possessor of those qualities of dignity, firmness, fairness, readiness of decision, and complete knowledge of parliamentary law and practice essential for the correct performances of the duties of that responsible and exalted office. On taking the chair he addressed his colleagues in the following terms :

“I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured, your confidence, your kindly regard and your generous support.

"The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the capitol, appropriately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword, at the head of gallant and victorious armies, saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

"Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me."

His performances of the duties of the Speakership amply justified the expectations and the confidence of those who elected him to the office. It was a period when political feeling ran high and when the post of presiding officer was a difficult one to fill. Mr. Blaine succeeded in giving

entire satisfaction to his own party, and at the same time in giving the opposition minority no cause to complain. At the end of his two years of service, his old opponent, Mr. Cox, who had now become a representative from New York, offered the following resolution : "In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified and impartial discharge of those duties by the Hon. J. G. Blaine, during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be, and they hereby are tendered to the Speaker thereof." In reply, Mr. Blaine said :

"Our labors are at an end ; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct.

"In a deliberative body of this character, a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that, you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and good-will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

"The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all the States have been represented

on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and triumph; years of wild destruction and years of careful rebuilding; and after all, and as to the result of all, the National Government is here to-day, united, strong, proud, defiant and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle, let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of Peace.

“And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day.”

The election of 1870 sent Mr. Blaine to the House for a fifth term by a majority of 2,320, and he was again made Speaker by the unanimous vote of his party associates. He received 126 votes against 92 passed for George W. Morgan, the Democratic candidate. His words on taking the chair were as follows :

“The Speakership of the American House of Representatives has always been esteemed as an enviable honor. A re-election to the position carries with it peculiar gratification, in that it

implies an approval of past official bearing. For this great mark of your confidence I can but return to you my sincerest thanks, with the assurance of my utmost devotion to the duties which you call upon me to discharge.

“ Chosen by the party representing the political majority in this House, the Speaker owes a faithful allegiance to the principles and policy of that party. But he will fall far below the honorable requirements of his station if he fails to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he is called upon to administer. The successful working of our grand system of government depends largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, and the most wholesome legislation which this House produces and perfects is that which results from opposing forces mutually eager and watchful and well-nigh balanced in numbers.

“ The Forty-second Congress assembles at a period of general content, happiness and prosperity throughout the land. Under the wise administration of the National Government peace reigns in all our borders, and the only serious misunderstanding with any foreign power is, we may hope, at this moment in process of honorable, cordial and lasting adjustment. We are fortunate in meeting at such a time, in representing such constituencies, in legislating for such a country.

"Trusting, gentlemen, that our official intercourse may be free from all personal asperity, believing that all our labors will eventuate for the public good, and craving the blessing of Him without whose aid we labor in vain, I am now ready to proceed with the further organization of the House ; and, as the first step thereto, I will myself take the oath prescribed by the Constitution and laws."

The activities of Mr. Blaine were by no means confined to the Speaker's chair. He could not properly go upon the floor of the House to take part in debate and in shaping legislation, but he was still a leader in the councils of his party. Early in the first session of the Forty-second Congress General Benjamin F. Butler, then a Representative from Massachusetts, made a bitter attack upon him for being the author of a resolution just introduced, "providing for an investigation into alleged outrages perpetrated upon loyal citizens of the South." Mr. Blaine at once left the chair and made reply, and the colloquy that followed shows well his readiness of repartee and the effective manner in which he dealt with his opponents. Mr. Wheeler, of New York, took the chair temporarily and Mr. Blaine said :

"I desire to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) whether he denies to me the right to have drawn that resolution?"

Mr. Butler.—I have made no assertion on that subject one way or the other.

Mr. Blaine.—Did not the gentleman distinctly know that I drew it?

Mr. Butler.—No, sir.

Mr. Blaine.—Did I not take it to the gentleman and read it to him?

Mr. Butler.—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine.—Did I not show him the manuscript?

Mr. Butler.—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine.—In my own handwriting?

Mr. Butler.—No, sir.

Mr. Blaine.—And at his suggestion I added these words: "And the expenses of said committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives" (applause), and the fact that ways and means were wanted to pay the expenses was the only objection he made to it.

Mr. Butler.—What was the answer the gentleman made? I suppose I may ask that, now that the Speaker has come upon the floor.

Mr. Blaine.—The answer was that I immediately wrote the amendment providing for the payment of the expenses of the committee.

Mr. Butler.—What was my answer? Was it not that under no circumstances would I have anything to do with it, being bound by the action of the caucus?

Mr. Blaine.—No, sir ; the answer was that under no circumstances would you serve as chairman.

Mr. Butler.—Or have anything to do with the resolution.

Mr. Blaine.—There are two hundred and twenty-four members of the House of Representatives. A committee of thirteen can be found without the gentleman from Massachusetts being on it. His service is not essential to the constitution of the committee.

Mr. Butler.—Why did you not find such a committee, then?

Mr. Blaine.—Because I knew very well that if I omitted the appointment of the gentleman it would be heralded throughout the length and breadth of the country, by the claquers who have so industriously distributed this letter this morning, that the Speaker had packed the committee, as the gentleman said he would, with "weak-kneed Republicans," who would not go into an investigation vigorously, as he would. That was the reason. (Applause.) So that the Chair laid the responsibility upon the gentleman of declining the appointment.

Mr. Butler.—I knew that was the trick of the Chair.

Mr. Blaine.—Ah, the "trick!" We now know what the gentleman meant by the word "trick." I am very glad to know the "trick" was successful.

Mr. Butler.—No doubt.

Mr. Blaine.—It is this “trick” which places the gentleman from Massachusetts on his responsibility before the country.

Mr. Butler.—Exactly.

Mr. Blaine.—Wholly.

Mr. Butler.—Wholly.

Mr. Blaine.—Now, sir, the gentleman from Massachusetts talks about the coercion by which fifty-eight Republicans were made to vote for the resolution. I do not know what any one of them may have to say, but if there be here to-day a single gentleman who has given to the gentleman of Massachusetts the intimation that he felt coerced—that he was in any way restrained from free action, let him get up now and speak, or forever after hold his peace.

Mr. Butler.—Oh, yes.

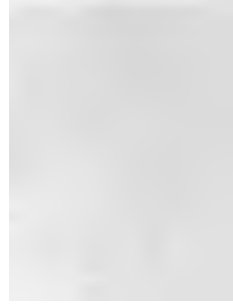
Mr. Blaine.—The gentleman from Massachusetts says: “Having been appointed against my wishes, expressed both publicly and privately, by the Speaker, as chairman of a committee to investigate the state of affairs in the South, ordered to-day by Democratic votes, against the most earnest protest of more than a two-thirds majority of the Republicans of the House.”

Mr. Butler.—Yes, sir.

Mr. Blaine.—This statement is so bold and groundless that I do not know what reply to make to it. It is made in the face of the fact that on



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the roll-call fifty-eight Republicans voted for the resolution, and forty-nine, besides the gentleman from Massachusetts, against it. I deny that the gentleman has the right to speak for any member who voted for it, unless it may be the member from Tennessee (Mr. Maynard), who voted for it, for the purpose, probably, of moving a reconsideration—a very common, a very justifiable and proper course whenever any gentleman chooses to adopt it. I am not criticising at all. But if there be any one of the fifty-eight gentlemen who voted for the resolution under coercion I would like the gentleman from Massachusetts to designate him.

Mr. Butler.—I am not here to retail private conversations.

Mr. Blaine.—Oh, no ; but you will distribute throughout the entire country unfounded calumnies purporting to rest upon assertions made in private conversations, which, when called for, cannot be verified.

Mr. Butler.—Pardon me, sir. I said there was a caucus——

Mr. Blaine.—I hope God will pardon you ; but you ought not to ask me to do it ! (Laughter.)

Mr. Butler.—I will ask God, and not you.

Mr. Blaine.—I am glad the gentleman will.

Mr. Butler.—I have no favors to ask of the devil. And let me say that the caucus agreed upon a definite mode of action.

Mr. Blaine.—The caucus! Now, let me say here and now, that the Chairman of that caucus, sitting on my right, “a chevalier” in legislation, “*sans peur et sans reproche*,” the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Austin Blair) stated, as a man of honor, as he is, that he was bound to say officially from the chair, that it was not considered, and could not be considered binding upon gentlemen. And more than that. Talk about tricks! Why, the very infamy of political trickery never compassed a design so foolish and so wicked as to bring together a caucus, and attempt to pledge them to the support of measures which might violate not only the political principles, but the religious faith of men—to the support of the bill drawn by the gentleman from Massachusetts, which might violate the conscientious scruples of men. And yet, forsooth, he comes in here and declares that whatever a caucus may determine upon, however hastily, however crudely, however wrongfully, you must support it! Why, even in the worst days of the Democracy, when the gentleman himself was in the front rank of the worst wing of it, when was it ever attempted to say that a majority of a party caucus could bind men upon measures that involved questions of constitutional law, of personal honor, of religious scruple? The gentleman asked what would have been done—he asked my colleague (Mr. Peters) what would have been done in case of members

of a party voting against the caucus nominee for Speaker. I understand that was intended as a thrust at myself. Caucus nominations of officers have always been held as binding. But, just here, let me say, that if a minority did not vote against the decision of the caucus that nominated me for Speaker, in my judgment it was not the fault of the gentleman from Massachusetts. (Applause.) If the requisite number could have been found to have gone over to the despised Nazarenes on the opposite side, that gentleman would have led them as gallantly as he did the forces in the Charleston Convention. (Renewed applause and laughter.)

"Mr. Speaker, in old times, it was the ordinary habit of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I am very glad that it has. For one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The Speaker should, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a constant participation in the discussions of members would take from him that appearance of impartiality, which it is so important to maintain in the rulings of the Chair. But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts, when he attempts to say that the Representative from the Third District of the State of Maine has no right to

frame a resolution ; has no right to seek that under the rules that resolution shall be adopted ; has no right to ask judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of the gentleman himself never reached that sublime height before.

* * * * *

“Now, Mr. Speaker, nobody regrets more sincerely than I do, any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety, I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear witness, that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints ; its distribution throughout the land by telegraph ; the laying it upon the desks of members, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts, not openly and boldly, but covertly—I will not use a stronger phrase—an insult to the Speaker of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce it in all its essential statements, and in all its misstatements, and in all its mean inferences and meaner innuendoes. I denounce the letter as groundless, without justification ; and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.”

At the close of this Congress, on motion of the leader of the Democratic members, Mr. Blaine was heartily thanked for the able and impartial manner in which he had discharged his duties, and responded as follows :

“For the forty-second time since the Federal Government was organized, its great representative body stands on the eve of dissolution. The final word which separates us is suspended for a moment, that I may return my sincere thanks for the kind expressions respecting my official conduct, which, without division of party, you have caused to be entered on your journal.

“At the close of four years’ service in this responsible and often trying position, it is a source of honorable pride that I have so administered my trust as to secure the confidence and approbation of both sides of the House. It would not be strange if, in the necessarily rapid discharge of the daily business, I should have erred in some of the decisions made on points, and often without precedent to guide me. It has been my good fortune, however, to be always sustained by the House, and in no single instance to have had a ruling reversed. I advert to this gratifying fact, to quote the language of the most eloquent of my predecessors, ‘in no vain spirit of exaltation, but as furnishing a powerful motive for undissembled gratitude.’

“And now, gentlemen, with a hearty God bless you all, I discharge my only remaining duty in declaring that the House of Representatives for the Forty-second Congress is adjourned without day.”

There was, in 1872, a considerable secession from the ranks of the Republican party, many of its

members, styling themselves Liberal Republicans, forming a fusion with the Democrats. Mt. Blaine discountenanced this movement and stood by the old party, and was re-elected to Congress for a sixth term by 3,568 majority. Again he was the choice of his party for the Speakership, and was elected to that office for the third time, receiving 189 votes against 80 cast for all others. His address at the beginning of the third term of his Speakership was as follows :

“The vote this moment announced by the clerk is such an expression of your confidence as calls for my sincerest thanks. To be chosen Speaker of the American House of Representatives is always an honorable distinction ; to be chosen a third time enhances the honor more than three-fold ; to be chosen by the largest body that ever assembled in the capitol imposes a burden of responsibility which only your indulgent kindness could embolden me to assume.

“The first occupant of this chair presided over a House of sixty-five members, representing a population far below the present aggregate of the State of New York. At that time in the whole United States there were not fifty thousand civilized inhabitants to be found one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. To-day, gentlemen, a large body of you come from beyond that limit, and represent districts then peopled only by the Indian and adventurous frontiersman.

The National Government is not yet as old as many of its citizens ; but in this brief span of time, less than one lengthened life, it has, 'under God's providence, extended its power until a continent is the field of its empire and attests the majesty of its law.

"With the growth of new States and the resulting changes in the centres of population, new interests are developed, rival to the old, but by no means hostile, diverse but not antagonistic. Nay, rather are all these interests in harmony ; and the true science of just government is to give to each its full and fair play, oppressing none by undue exaction, favoring none by undue privilege. It is this great lesson which our daily experience is teaching us, binding us together more closely, making our mutual dependence more manifest, and causing us to feel, whether we live in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, that we have indeed but 'one country, one Constitution, one destiny. "

Two notable incidents marked the record of this Congress, especially affecting Mr. Blaine. One was the famous bill increasing the salaries of the President, Members of Congress and others. It has been, not unjustly, termed the "salary-grab" bill, since by its adoption the very men who enacted it voted to themselves an increase of pay for the terms of office they were then occupying. Mr. Blaine looked upon this

with great disfavor. Asking permission to make a personal statement concerning a certain amendment to it, he said: "The Chair presumes the language of this amendment would make the Speaker's salary \$10,000 for this Congress. The salary of the Speaker, the last time the question of pay was under consideration, was adjusted to that of the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. The Chair thinks that adjustment should not be disturbed, and the question which he now raises does not affect the pay of other members of the House. He asks unanimous consent to put in the word 'hereafter,' to follow the words 'shall receive.' This will affect whoever shall be Speaker of the House of Representatives hereafter, and does not affect the Speaker of this House." This bill was repealed at the next session, the repeal being carried by the deciding vote of the Speaker.

At the close of this Congress it was known that Mr. Blaine would not again occupy the Speaker's chair, since an overwhelming Democratic majority had been elected for the next House. A resolution cordially thanking him for his conduct in the chair was unanimously adopted, on motion of Mr. Potter, Democrat, of New York, and Mr. Blaine made the following farewell address on leaving the position he had filled with such distinguished ability for the unusually long term of six years :

"I close with this hour a six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equalled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this chair to shorter terms of office.

"It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life, not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

"To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the Chair.

"The Speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous

and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory; almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity, but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

“Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.”

As the Speaker closed his address and walked down from the chair, says a newspaper observer, an outburst of handclapping and cheers broke from the upstanding members, and was joined in by the immense assemblage on the floor and in the galleries. Never before was witnessed such a scene at the close of a Congress.

The elections of 1874 amounted to a political revolution, the Democratic party gaining control of the House of Representatives by an overwhelming

majority. Thereupon Mr. Blaine, who had been elected for a seventh term by a majority of 2,830, became the leader of the Republican minority on the floor, and showed himself one of the most brilliant and effective leaders ever possessed by a minority party. The two leading incidents of his career in this Congress must be separately considered. It will here be necessary only to refer to his effort, in 1875 and 1876, to secure the adoption of the following amendment to the Constitution: "No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations." Mr. Blaine, in public and in private, strongly urged the adoption of this measure, but did not succeed.

His career as a Representative in Congress came to an end in June, 1876, when he was appointed to fill an unexpired term in the United States Senate. As his own expression of the principles that governed him on great questions of public policy during his career in the House, the following quotation may well be made. It is taken from the letter written by him on July 3,

1874, accepting the nomination for his seventh and last term in Congress. In this letter Mr. Blaine wrote :

“The resolutions to which you invite my attention are so generally acceptable to the people of the district that no issue will be made on the matters embraced in them. The currency question at one time threatening to divide parties, and what would be far more serious, to divide sections, is in process of a happy adjustment, partly by wise and temperate enactment passed by a large majority in both branches of Congress and approved by the President, but in a far greater degree by the operation of causes more powerful than any legislation can be. In these remarks I am, indeed, but repeating, in substance, the resolutions of your Convention, and I gladly adopt as my own the leading declaration of the series that ‘it is the imperative duty of the National Government to return to specie payment as soon as wise statesmanship can safely reach that result.’

“But while our political opponents in Maine will not seriously contest any position taken by us, they have themselves chosen to raise another issue on which we will not be slow to differ from them. The Democratic State Convention, in renominating their respectable candidate for Governor, adopted with suggestive unanimity the following resolution as the leading article in their revised political creed :

“*Resolved*, That a Protective Tariff is a most unjust, unequal, oppressive and wasteful mode of raising the public revenues. It is one of the most pregnant and fruitful sources of the corruptions in administration. We therefore, the democracy of Maine, in Convention assembled, declare for Free Trade, and in favor of an unfettered and unrestricted commerce.’

“This advanced position, now formally and boldly taken by the Maine Democracy, in their State Convention, receives additional point and meaning by the letter of their gubernatorial candidate, Mr. Titcomb, who in accepting the nomination specially approves the foregoing resolution, and intimates his endurance of the lowest form of Revenue Tariff, only ‘until we shall be educated up to the idea of equal, direct, and therefore moderate taxation for the support of Government, and until this idea shall be brought into practical operation.’ I have quoted Mr. Titcomb’s own words, and it is quite evident that the startling dogma to which he commits himself, is in sympathy with more impressive movements to be made elsewhere in the same direction, and is first thrown out in Maine as an experiment on public opinion. If there were the slightest danger of the Democratic party, with this avowed policy, coming into power, the dangers ahead would be truly appalling ; but as no such calamity impends, we may be allowed to examine with

more coolness the wild absurdity of the proposition.

“ You will observe that the issue proposed is not the old and familiar one between those who advocate a Tariff for Protection, and those who wish duties imposed only for Revenue. That is an issue as old as the levying of imposts, and, with occasional exceptions, has been determined largely by latitude and longitude, or by the differing interests which change of section and varying forms of industry have developed. But the Maine Democracy assumes that all Tariffs are more or less Protective, and hence they are hostile to them, and pronounce for ‘Free Trade,’ pure and simple, absolute and without qualification, or to quote their own words, for ‘an unfettered and unrestricted commerce.’

“ Without attempting to argue the question in its relation to the whole country, let us see how this new doctrine would affect Maine. The process would be simple, the results readily deduced, the effect blighting and disastrous to the last degree. For some years past, to deal in round numbers, the Federal Government has been collecting a revenue of three hundred millions of dollars—one-third from internal taxes, two-thirds from tariff duties. It is now proposed by the Maine Democracy to abolish all these duties, have absolute ‘Free Trade’ with an ‘unfettered and unrestricted commerce.’ In

other words, the Maine Democracy propose to raise the two hundred millions of dollars in gold coin, now obtained from tariff duties, by 'direct taxation,' or by a system of 'excises' which might prove even more oppressive than direct taxation itself. There is no other mode open under the Constitution by which the money can be raised than the two named, if the tariff be abandoned, and Mr. Titcomb declares for direct taxation. Now if the money is to be secured by direct taxation, as Mr. Titcomb proposes, it will be found to be Maine's great misfortune, that the Constitution requires the tax to be levied in proportion to population and not according to wealth. By the ninth census, Maine has about one-sixtieth of the total population of United States, and her share of two hundred millions of direct taxation would be something over three and a quarter millions of dollars in gold coin—the single Congressional District whose constituents I am addressing, would be called upon for seven hundred thousand dollars. The peculiar hardship of raising taxes in this way is made manifest by the simple fact that Maine would be compelled to pay nearly one-half as much as Massachusetts, while in fact she has but one-seventh of the wealth of that highly-favored and prosperous Commonwealth. To properly estimate the exhausting and oppressive nature of this enormous tax, you have but to consider

that it would be three times as large as the present State tax, and would necessarily be levied in addition thereto.

“But if against Mr. Titcomb’s policy the direct tax were avoided, it would be necessary to have instead of it a system of excises as onerous and as odious as human ingenuity could devise. A heavy internal tax would inevitably be levied on all manufactures and indeed upon all the products of the field and the forest, the shipyard and the quarry; and every form of industry would be burdened and borne down by the exactions of the tax-gatherer. And these grievous hardships would be imposed on our own people, in order that foreign countries might have the benefit of our markets for their products, without duty and without tax. Our lumber interests, embarrassed and oppressed, would have to compete with the untaxed products of the Canadian forest; our manufactures would pay taxes for the benefit of European fabrics; our ship-building would be destroyed by the taxation, which would render it incapable of competing with provincial bottoms, and under the magic spell of Democratic free trade our coasting and lake commerce, confined to our own people since the foundation of the government, would be thrown open to the whole world. Taxation in all forms is one of the burdens of civilization, but instead of ameliorating its severity and, if possible, getting



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from it such compensating advantages as wise legislation can provide, our Maine Democrats propose to make it to the last degree oppressive to our own people and beneficial only to the alien and the stranger.

“To the people of Maine, at this very moment, these extravagant declarations of the Democratic party have a painful significance, for it is well known that the authorities of Canada are trying to negotiate with our government a reciprocity treaty, which, like its illustrious predecessor and namesake, maintains the reciprocity all on one side. The treaty of that name, which was terminated in 1866, was cruelly oppressive to the people of Maine, and inflicted upon our State, during the eleven years of its existence, a loss of fifty millions of dollars. It presented the very singular anomaly of giving to the Canadians the control in our own markets of certain leading articles, on terms far more favorable than our own people had ever enjoyed. The utmost stretch of the Divine command is to love our neighbor as ourselves, and I can certainly see nothing in personal duty or public policy which should lead us to prefer our Canadian neighbors to our own people.

“The treaty of reciprocity, now proposed, is understood to embrace the admission of Canadian vessels to free American Registry, and the full enjoyment of our coasting and lake trade. Thus

the ship-building and commercial interests of the United States, reviving so prosperously of late, and just recovering from the terrible blows dealt by British-built cruisers during the war, are again to be struck down by giving advantages, hitherto undreamed of, to the ships of the very power that inflicted the previous injury. And the Democratic party of Maine have pledged themselves, in their State Convention, to the policy that includes this disastrous attack upon the interests of our State, and their candidate for Governor has fully committed himself to the extreme doctrine announced by the Convention.

“The form of Reciprocity proposed by the Government of the Dominion of Canada lacks every element of the seductive title, by which it is sought to commend it to our people. What is it? Why, simply this: That if the United States will agree to admit certain Canadian products free of duty, Canada in turn will agree to admit certain American fabrics free of duty. But the class of men to be benefited, and the class to be injured, in the United States, are entirely distinct and separate, having nothing in common, either in locality, industry or investment. To compensate the surrender of one interest in this way by the advancement of another, has no more element of reciprocal justice in it, than for A to take a pair of horses from B, because C took possession of a yoke of oxen belonging to D. To illustrate:

If the United States will agree to admit Canadian vessels to American Registry and the coasting-trade, Canada will admit straw hats, mule harness, and rat-traps, free of duty. In this you will observe that Canada gets the full advantage both ways, while the United States, for a possible enlargement of petty trade, consents to subordinate and sacrifice an interest that represents our distinctive nationality, in all climes and upon all seas ; an interest that has given more and asked less of the Government than any other of similar magnitude ; an interest, more essentially American, in the highest and best sense, than any other which falls under the legislative power of the Government, and which asks only to-day, to be left where the founders of the Republic placed it nearly a century ago.

“Against the whole policy of adjusting Revenue questions by the Treaty-making power, I desire to enter, on behalf of my constituents, an emphatic protest. The Constitution gives to the House of Representatives the sole and exclusive right to originate Bills of Revenue, and this great power should be kept where it can be controlled by the direct vote of the people every two years. It may very well be that sundry articles of Canadian product should be admitted free, or with diminished duty ; it may well be, also, that Canada would find it advantageous to admit certain articles from us **free of duty.** Let each country decide the

question for itself independently, and avoid the 'log-rolling' feature of a Treaty, in which it will inevitably happen that certain interests will be sacrificed in order that others may be promoted. Let us simply place Canada on the same basis with other foreign countries—taxing her products, or admitting them free, according to our own judgment of the interest of our Revenue, and the pursuits and needs of our people—always bearing in mind, that in Governmental, as in family matters, 'charity begins at home,' and that 'he who provideth not for those of his own house, is worse than an infidel.' ”

CHAPTER VI.

FIGHTING THE SOUTHERN LEADERS.

The Debate on the Proposal to Restore Jefferson Davis to Full Citizenship—Action by the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses—A Powerful Speech by Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia—Mr. Blaine's Reply—The Incident that Gave Him the Title of "the Plumed Knight."

In the Forty-third Congress, the House Committee on Rules, of which Mr. Blaine was Chairman, reported a General Amnesty bill so comprehensive and generous that even Jefferson Davis, the ex-President of the Rebel Confederacy, was included within the scope of its benevolence; and the House, of which Mr. Blaine was Speaker, adopted it almost unanimously without the formality of a roll-call. In the House of Representatives of the next Congress, the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, a Democrat, was Speaker; the Hon. Samuel J. Randall was the Democratic leader on the floor of the House; and Mr. Blaine was the leader of the Republican minority. The question of amnesty again came up, in January, 1876, the chief point at issue being whether Jefferson Davis should be restored to all the rights of citizenship, or should, alone of all the ex-rebels, be denied such favor.

The debate that ensued was fierce and bitter in an extreme degree. The War of the Rebellion was fought over again, in words. The infamies of the Southern prison-pens, in which captive Northern troops were starved and murdered, formed a conspicuous theme. Among the leaders of debate on the Democratic side was the Hon. Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia, who had been opposed to secession before the war, but had quickly joined the movement when once it actually begun, and had been thereafter one of the foremost spirits of the Confederacy. On January 11, 1876, he made a powerful and eloquent address in the House, especially on the subject of Andersonville, in which he defended the Confederate authorities against the charges of cruelty that had been made, and actually declared that the United States Government was responsible for what its captive soldiers suffered in that prison. Two days later, Mr. Blaine made reply. It was the culminating point of the debate, and the interest of the House, and of the whole Nation, was at the highest tension.

It was this speech that impelled Colonel R. G. Ingersoll, a few months later, to fix upon Mr. Blaine the title of "the Plumed Knight." Another observer likened him to a gladiator in the midst of an arena. "He taunted and worried his enemies until he provoked them to strike, and then sprang upon them and tore them to pieces."

In Mr. Hill he had a mighty antagonist ; but he utterly vanquished him, and hopelessly destroyed his prospects of gaining the Democratic leadership. The text of this speech, one of the most noteworthy ever made in the House of Representatives, is as follows :

“MR. SPEAKER: Before proceeding with the remark which I shall address to the questions before the House, I desire to say that in the discussion on the point of order that was raised just prior to the adjournment last evening, I did not intend to be understood, and hope no gentleman understood me, as implying that the honorable Speaker intended in any way to deprive me of the right to speak. I did not so understand the Speaker, nor did I understand it to be the motive or object of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Randall). I say this much in justice to myself and in justice to the honorable incumbent of the chair.

“From the tone of the debate on the opposite side of the chamber, Mr. Speaker, one would certainly imagine that the Republican party, as represented in Congress, was trying to inflict some new punishment or add some fresh stigma to the name of Jefferson Davis, as well, indeed, as to lay some additional burden on those other citizens of the South who are not yet fully amnestied. It may therefore not be unprofitable just to recall to the attention of

the House the precise question at issue, and how it came here, and who it was that brought it here.

“The gentleman from Pennsylvania introduced a bill to confer special honor on Jefferson Davis; for what honor can be higher than the full panoplied citizenship of the United States of America? He has lost it by his crime, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania proposes in hot haste, without debate, without amendment, to drag every gentleman up to say ‘Aye’ or ‘No’ upon a bill declaring him to be entitled now and henceforth to all the rights and all the honors of American citizenship. From that we dissent. We did not bring the question here. We are not seeking to throw any fresh element of an inflammatory kind into any discussion or difference that may be between two parties or two sections, and whatever of that kind has grown from this discussion lies at the door of the gentleman from Pennsylvania and those who stand with him.

“Remember, Mr. Speaker, it is no proposition to punish, but a proposition to honor, and while we disclaim any intention or desire to punish Jefferson Davis, we resist the proposition to honor him. And right here, as a preliminary matter, I desire to address myself for a moment to the constitutional point suggested by the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr.

Seelye), who addressed the House last evening. He sees and appreciates the magnitude of the crime laid at the door of Jefferson Davis, and he clearly pointed out that neither the gentleman from New York nor the gentleman from Georgia had palliated or dared to palliate the crimes with which I charged him. But he is bothered by the scruple that because we are permitted to punish for participancy in insurrection or rebellion we cannot make any discrimination or distinction. Why, the honorable gentleman must have forgotten that this is precisely what we have been doing ever since the disability was imposed. We first removed the disabilities from the least offensive class ; then in the next list we removed those next in order of guilty participancy, and so on, until in 1872 we removed the disability from all, except the army and navy officers, members of Congress, and heads of departments. Why, sir, are we not as much justified to-day in excepting Jefferson Davis as we were in 1872 in excepting the seven hundred and fifty of whom he constitutes one? Therefore I beg to say to my honorable friend, whose co-operation I crave, that that point is *res adjudicata* by a hundred acts upon the statute book. We are entirely competent to do just what is proposed in my amendment.

“Now, Mr. Speaker, on the question of the treatment of our prisoners and on the great

question as to who was to blame for breaking exchange, the speech of the honorable gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) has left me literally nothing to say. He exhausted the subject. His speech was unanswerable, and I undertake to say that as yet no gentleman has answered one fact that he alleged—no gentleman in this House can answer one fact presented by him. I shall not therefore at any length dwell upon that. But in connection with one point in history there is something which I should feel it my duty, not merely as a member of the Republican party which upheld the administration that conducted the war, but as a citizen of the American Union, to resist and resent, and that is, the allegations that were made in regard to the manner in which Confederate prisoners were treated in the prisons of the Union. The gentleman from Georgia says: ‘I have also proved that with all the horrors you have made such a noise about as occurring at Andersonville, greater horrors occurred in the prisons where our troops were held.’

“ And I could not but admire the ‘our’ and the ‘your’ with which the gentleman conducted the whole discussion. It ill comported with his later profession of Unionism. It was certainly flinging the shadow of a dead confederacy a long way over the dial of the National House of Representatives; and I think the gentleman from New York

fell into a little of the same line. Of that I shall speak again.

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"I am quoting the gentleman's speech as he delivered it. I quote it as it appeared in *The Daily Chronicle* and the Associated Press report. I do not pretend to be bound by the version which may appear hereafter, because I observed that the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cox) spoke one speech and published another (great laughter), and I suppose the gentleman from Georgia will do the same. I admit that the gentleman has a difficult role to play. He has to harmonize himself with the great Northern Democracy and keep himself in high line as a Democratic candidate for Senator from Georgia; and it is a very difficult thing to reconcile the two. (Laughter.) The 'barn-burner Democrats' in 1853 tried very hard to adhere to their anti-slavery principles in New York and still support the Pierce administration; and Mr. Greeley, with that inimitable humor which he possessed, said that they found it a very hard road to straddle, like a militia general on parade on Broadway, who finds it an almost impossible task to follow the music and dodge the omnibuses. (Laughter.) And that is what the gentleman does. The gentleman tries to keep step to the music of the Union and dodge his fire-eating constituency in Georgia. (Great laughter.) Then here is another quotation: 'We know our prisoners

suffered in Federal hands, and we know how, if we chose to tell, thousands of our poor men came home from Fort Delaware and other places with their fingers frozen off, with their toes frozen off, with their teeth fallen out.'

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"The gentleman from New York stated that 'he had it on the authority of sixty and odd gentlemen here, many of them having been in the service of the Confederacy during the war, that no order was issued at any time in the South relative to prisoners who were taken by the South as to rations or clothing that did not apply equally to their own soldiers, and that any *ex parte* statements taken by that humbug committee on the conduct of the war could not controvert the facts of history.' The gentleman therefore stands up here as denying the atrocities of Andersonville. He seconds the gentleman from Georgia and gives the weight of whatever may be attached to his word to denying that fact. Now, the gentleman himself did not always talk so. I have here a debate that occurred on the twenty-first of December, 1864, in which, while the proposition was pending in the House for retaliation, the gentleman, then from Ohio, said: 'This resolution provides for inflicting upon the rebel prisoners who may be in our hands the same inhuman, barbarous, horrible treatment which has been inflicted upon our soldiers held as prisoners by

the rebels. Now, Mr. Speaker' (continued the enraged gentleman at that time), 'it does not follow that because the rebels have made brutes and fiends of themselves that we should do likewise.'

" 'There is,' he says, 'a certain law of retaliation in war, I know ; but ' (continued the gentleman) 'no man will stand up here and say, after due deliberation, that he would reduce these prisoners thrust into our hands into the same condition exhibited by these skeletons, these pictures, these anatomies brought to our attention and laid upon the desks of members of Congress.' Then the gentleman says : 'It does not follow because our prisoners are treated in the way represented, and no doubt truthfully represented.' That is what the gentleman said in 1864 ; but when a solemn committee of Congress, made up of honorable gentlemen of both sides of the House, bring in exactly the statements which verify all this, then the gentleman states 'that the authority was a humbug committee.'

* * * * *

" " Senator Hill, of Georgia, introduced the following resolution in the Confederate Congress in October, 1862 : "That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States, who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory

of the Confederate States with intent to incite insurrection and to abet murder ; and unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, he shall suffer death. And this section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated Washington, September 22, 1862, shall be rescinded.”

“Mr. Speaker, what does this mean? What did the gentleman from Georgia mean when, from the Committee on the Judiciary, he introduced the following: ‘2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death. 3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom, under the aforementioned Act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting, or causing them to be abducted, or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death.’ Now, Mr. Speaker, I have searched somewhat, but in vain, for anything in the world that rivals this. I did find, and have here in my minutes, the proclamation of Valmeseda, the Captain-General of Cuba, who was recalled by Spain because of

his atrocious cruelties to the inhabitants of that island ; and the worst thing in all the atrocities laid to his charge was that he proclaimed 'that every man or boy over fifteen years found away from his house, not being able to give a satisfactory reason therefor, should suffer death.' He copied it from the resolution of the gentleman from Georgia.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a copy of the Atlanta Constitution, printed on the twenty-fourth of January, 1875. We are told that all these allegations against Jefferson Davis should be forgiven because they are all of the dead past.

"We are told that we should not revive them. that there should be nothing in the world brought up in any way to disturb the beautiful serenity of the centennial year, and that to make any allusion to them whatever is to do an unwelcome and unpatriotic act. The very last declaration we have from Jefferson Davis authentically, in the life which the gentleman from Georgia held the other day as a text book, reads thus :

" 'Time will show, however, the amount of truth in the prophecy of Jefferson Davis' (says the biographer, made in reply to the remark that the cause of the Confederacy was lost. Mr. Davis said) : 'It appears so, but the principle for which we contended is bound to reassert itself, though it may be at another time and in another form.'

"Now, I have here, of the date of January 24, 1875, a speech by the Hon. B. H. Hill, in the *Atlanta Constitution*, and it is said to have been the 'grandest speech' he ever delivered.

"I quote from him: 'Fellow-citizens: I look to the contest of 1876 not only as the most important that ever occurred in American history, but as the most important in the history of the world; for if the people of the country cannot be aroused to give an overwhelming vote against this Republican party, it will perpetuate itself in power in the United States by precisely the same means that the President has taken in Louisiana, and the people will be powerless to prevent it except they go to war. (Applause.) If we fail with the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. I trust we will not fail. I hope the Northern people have had a sufficient subsidence of passion to see this question fairly.' * * *

"The gentleman says: 'If we must have war; if we cannot preserve this Constitution and constitutional government by the ballot; if force is to defeat the ballot; if the war must come—God forbid that it should come—but if it must come; if folly, if wickedness, if inordinate love of power, shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come; I am ready.' (Laughter.) And then the gentleman said, in another speech, of May 12th: 'He impressed



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upon the colored men of the country the truth that, if the folly and wickedness were consummated in war, they would be the greatest sufferers. If peace was preserved, they were safe, but as sure as one war had freed them, just as sure another war would re-enslave them.' Now that was precisely the kind of talk we had here by folios and reams before the Rebellion. Oh, yes, you were for war then. The gentleman, in his speech, says that the Union now is an unmixed blessing, providing the Democratic party can rule it, but that if the Republican party must rule it, he is for war. Why, that is just what Jefferson Davis said in 1861.

"I have here very much more of the same kind. I have been supplied with very abundant literature emanating from the gentleman, more, indeed, than I have had time to read. He seems to have been as voluminous as the Spanish Chroniclers. In one speech he says: 'I must say a word about this list of disabilities removed. I would rather see my name recorded in the Georgia penitentiary than to find it on a list of the removal of disabilities. Why, my friends, do you not know that when you go to that Congress and ask for a removal of disabilities, you admit that you are a traitor?'"

Mr. Hill.—What do you read from?

Mr. Blaine.—From a report in a Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* giving an account of a great

meeting in 1868, at which Howell Cobb, Robert Toombs and the Hon. B. H. Hill made speeches. And there the gentleman declared that he would rather have his name on the list of the Georgia penitentiary than on the list of the removal of disabilities.

“Mr. Speaker, I do not desire to stir up more needless ill-blood, but the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) yesterday, apparently without much thought, spoke of a class of men in the Southern States who had committed perjury, and I would like to address the gentleman a question that he can answer when he gets the floor.”

Mr. Hill.—Will you not allow me to answer it now?

Mr. Blaine.—No, sir, not now. Suppose you inaugurate a great war if the Republican party retains power, and you and all these gentlemen who sympathize with you upon this floor, and who had taken an oath to bear true allegiance to the government of the United States, and that you took that oath without mental reservation, then revolt against the country; what would that be? Would it have any relation to perjury?

“But, Mr. Speaker, you see the effect of the speeches of the gentleman from Georgia. They are very tremendous down there. The very earthquakes under him. One of his organs says: ‘We assert without fear of contradiction that Mr. Hill in his bitter denunciation of scalawags and

carpet-baggers has deterred thousands of them from entering the ranks of the Radical party. They dare not do so for fear of social ostracism, and to-day the white population of Georgia are unanimous in favor of the Democratic party.'

"And when he can get the rest of the States to the same standard he is for war.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman cannot, by withholding his speech here and revising it and adapting it to the Northern Democracy, erase his speeches in Georgia. I have quoted from them. I have quoted from Democratic papers. There is no accusation that there is any perversion in Republican papers or that he was misrepresented. But the gentleman deliberately states that in a certain contingency of the Republican party having power he is for war ; and I undertake here to say that, in all the mad, hot wrath in the Thirty-sixth Congress that precipitated the revolt in this country, there is not one speech to be found that breathes a more determined rebellion against lawful authority or a guiltier readiness to resist it than the speech of the gentleman from Georgia.

"Mr. Speaker, I have not much time left. I said briefly in my first speech, that God forbid I should lay at the door of the Southern people, as a people, these atrocities. I repeat it, I lay no such charge at their door. Sir, I have read in this '*ex parte* humbug report' that there were deep movements among the Southern people about

these atrocities ; that there was a profound sensibility. I know that the leading officers of the Confederacy protested against them ; I know that many of the subordinate officers protested against them. I know that an honorable gentleman from North Carolina, now representing his State in the other end of the capitol, protested against them. But I have searched the records in vain to find that the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Hill) protested against them.

“They were known to the Confederate Congress ; they were known at the doorway of your Senate and along the corridors of your capitol. The honorable and venerable gentleman in my eye at this moment, who served in the Confederate Congress, and who had before served in the Senate of the United States, himself brought them to the attention of the Confederate Congress, and I class him with great gladness among those whose humanity was never quenched by the fires of the rebellion. I allude to the Honorable Henry S. Foote.

“My time is running and I have but very little left. I confess—and I say it to the gentleman from Georgia, with no personal unkindness—I confess that my very blood boiled, if there was anything of tradition, of memory, of feeling, it boiled when I heard the gentleman, with his record, which I have read, seconded and sustained by the gentleman from New York, arraigning the administration

of Abraham Lincoln, throwing obloquy and slander upon the grave of Edwin M. Stanton, and demanding that Jefferson Davis should be restored to full citizenship in this country! Ah, that is a novel spectacle; the gentleman from Georgia does not know how novel. The gentleman from Georgia does not know, and he cannot know, how many hundred thousand of Northern bosoms were lacerated by his course.

* * * * *


"I repeat, that proposition strikes—I might say almost terror into Northern hearts; that here, in an American Congress, the gentleman who offered that resolution in the Confederate Congress, who in his campaign for a seat in this House comes here breathing threatenings and slaughter, who comes here telling you that in a certain contingency he means war, advising his people to be ready for it—that gentleman, profaning the very altar of patriotic liberty with the speech that sends him here, arraigning the administration that conducted the war and saved the Union—that gentleman asks us to join with him in paying the last full measure of honor that an American Congress can pay to the arch enemy of the Union, the arch fiend of the rebellion.

"Suppose Jefferson Davis is not pardoned; suppose he is not amnestied. Oh, you cannot have a centennial year without that! No man on this side has ever intimated that Jefferson Davis

should be refused pardon on account of any political crimes; it is too late for that; it is because of a personal crime. If you ask that there may be harmonious and universal rejoicing over every forgiven man, release all your criminals; set free every man who has been sentenced for piracy or for murder by your United States Courts; proclaim the jubilee indeed.

* * * * *

“But I am authorized, if the gentleman desires it—not authorized especially to mention it here, but I mention it on the authority of General Grant, whom the gentleman from Georgia impugned in connection with the exchange of prisoners—to say that one thing touching the exchange of prisoners was that the Davis government observed no honor in regard to it; and General Grant states that the brigade of Carter L. Stephenson, that was dislodged at Chattanooga, was made up of paroled prisoners from Vicksburg, and that Stephenson himself was one of them. He states that the paroled prisoners of one day in front of his line were taken the next. But in stating this he was careful to say that, as to Lee and the two Johnsons and Pemberton, and the other leading Confederate generals, their word was honor itself; but that for the Davis executive government, there was no honor in it—none whatever. The gentleman has got enough of General Grant by this time, I hope.



“Now, in regard to the relative number of prisoners that died in the North and the South respectively, the gentleman undertook to show that a great many more prisoners died in the hands of the Union authorities than in the hands of the rebels. I have had conversations with surgeons of the army about that, and they say that there were a large number of deaths of rebel prisoners, but that during the latter period of the war they came into our hands very much exhausted, ill-clad, ill-fed, diseased so that they died in our prisons of diseases that they brought with them. And one eminent surgeon said, without wishing at all to be quoted in this debate, that the question was not only what was the condition of the prisoners when they came to us, but what it was when they were sent back.

“Our men were taken in full health and strength; they came back wasted and worn—mere skeletons. The rebel prisoners, in large numbers, were, when taken, emaciated and reduced; and General Grant says that at the time, such superhuman efforts were made for exchange, there were 90,000 men that would have re-enforced your armies the next day, prisoners in our hands who were in good health and ready for fight. This consideration sheds a great deal of light on what the gentleman states.

“The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Hurlbut) puts a letter into my hands. I read it without really knowing what it may show :

“ ‘ CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,

“ ‘ WAR DEPARTMENT,

“ ‘ RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, March 21, 1863.

“ ‘ MY DEAR SIR :—If the exigencies of our army require the use of trains for transportation of corn, pay no regard to the Yankee prisoners; I would rather that they should starve than our own people suffer.

“ ‘ I suppose I can safely put in writing: “Let them suffer.” The words are memorable, and it is fortunate that in this case they can be applied properly and without the intervention of a lying quartermaster.

“ ‘ Very truly your faithful friend,

“ ‘ ROBERT OULD.

“ ‘ COLONEL A. C. MYERS.”

“ That is a good piece of literature in this connection. Mr. Ould, I believe, was the rebel commissioner to exchange. When the gentleman from Georgia next takes the floor I want him to state what excuse there was for ordering the Florida artillery, in case General Sherman’s army got within seven miles of Andersonville, to fire on that stockade.

* * * * *

“ Why, Mr. Speaker, the administration of Martin Van Buren, that went down in a popular convulsion in 1840, had no little of obloquy thrown upon it because it had ventured to hunt the Seminoles in the swamps of Florida with bloodhounds. * * Bloodthirsty dogs were sent after the hiding savages, and the civilization of the nineteenth century and the Christian feeling of the American people revolted at it. And I state here, and the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Hill) cannot deny it, that upon the testimony of

witnesses as numerous as would require me all day to read, bloodhounds were used ; that large packs of them were kept, and Georgia officers commanded them ; that they were sent after the poor unfortunate, shrinking men who by any accident could get out of that horrible stockade. I state, sir, that the civilization of the world stands aghast at what was done at Andersonville. And the man who did that was sustained by Jefferson Davis, and promoted. Yet the gentleman says that was analogous to General Grant sending McDonald to the penitentiary.

“ Mr. Speaker, in view of all these facts I have only to say that if the American Congress, by a two-thirds vote, shall pronounce Jefferson Davis worthy to be restored to the full rights of American citizenship, I can only vote against it and hang my head in silence, and regret it.” (Applause.)

The result of this debate was a “draw.” But Mr. Blaine won enormous prestige by it, and was thereafter the idol of the millions who were apprehensive of the returning power of the South and were resolved to resist it by all lawful means.

CHAPTER VII.

DEALING WITH SLANDER.

A Carnival of Scandal Hunting—Newspaper Insinuations—Charges in Congress—Mr. Blaine's Effective Reply—Fresh Accusations—The Mulligan Letters—Political Objects of the Investigations—Mr. Blaine's Recovery of the Letters—His Production of Them in the House of Representatives—The Suppressed Despatch from Caldwell—A Dramatic Scene in the House—Mr. Blaine's Triumphant Acquittal at the Bar of Public Opinion.

At the Congressional elections of November, 1874, a political revolution was effected. For the first time since the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion, an overwhelming Democratic majority was returned to the House of Representatives. That majority immediately set itself to the task of investigating the record of the Republicans, who had held practically undisputed control in all branches of the Government for many years. Dozens of investigating committees were appointed, to pry into all branches of the Administration, and into the personal conduct of all the leaders of the Republican party. The era under investigation comprised the years of the war and the reconstruction period, immediately following. This was a time of large and lavish expenditures, and unquestionably of considerable looseness and

corruption in various quarters. The numerous committees did succeed in exposing some abuses and dishonesty, and not a few prominent politicians were permanently retired with hopelessly besmirched reputations. But in the great majority of instances, the quest of the investigators was fruitless.

The most notable of these investigations, and the one which was most productive of results, was that into the operations of the Credit Mobilier of the Union Pacific Railroad. This had come up before, while the Republicans were still in control of Congress, and while Mr. Blaine was Speaker of the House. Mr. Blaine had himself moved for the investigation, for the reason that he had been charged with complicity in the corrupt practices. The result was his most complete exoneration. Down to the beginning of 1876, therefore, Mr. Blaine's reputation was above reproach and above suspicion. But the mania for investigation, and for assaults upon character, which now set in, was not inclined to spare so conspicuous a mark. He was, moreover, a leading candidate for the Presidency, and popular enthusiasm in his support was every day growing more intense. The leaders of the opposing party were, therefore, naturally most anxious to destroy his prestige, and this could most effectually be done, they thought, by fastening upon him the odium of some questionable or dishonest conduct in public affairs.

The campaign against him was begun outside of Congress. A not greatly important Western newspaper first printed a scandalous attack upon him, more in the form of innuendo and suggestion than specific indictment. Day by day the attacks were continued, constantly growing more definite in tone, but constantly hinting at some most astonishing and damning revelations that would presently be made. The gist of the whole matter seemed to be, not that he had outright stolen public money, or committed perjury or forgery, or robbed the church poor-box, or murdered his venerable grandmother, but that he had used his official position as Speaker of the House for the furtherance of legislation in the interest of certain Western railroads, and had, on that account, become the possessor of stock in those companies, on exceptionally favorable terms. Finally the matter was brought to the attention of the House of Representatives, of which Mr. Blaine was a member in the Republican minority, and of which the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, a high-minded and honorable Democrat, was Speaker. The Hon. Proctor Knott, of Kentucky, one of the most conspicuous Democratic members, was put forward as the leader of the investigation into and attack upon Mr. Blaine's record. The first important passage of arms in the House occurred on April 24, 1876, when Mr. Blaine made a powerful and comprehensive speech, most effectively

disposing of and sweeping away the charges against him. These charges were that he had received a considerable sum of money from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in reward for his official influence in its behalf, and that he had similarly received some shares of stock in an Arkansas railroad company. Mr. Blaine's speech was as follows :

“ Mr. Speaker, with the leave of the House so kindly granted, I shall proceed to submit certain facts and correct certain errors personal to myself. The dates of the correspondence embraced in my statement will show that it was impossible for me to make it earlier. I shall be as brief as the circumstances will permit. For some months past a charge against me has been circulating in private—and was recently made public—designing to show that I had in some indirect manner received the large sum of \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, for what services or for what purpose has never been stated. The alleged proofs of the serious accusation were based, according to the original story, upon the authorship of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the Union Pacific Company, who, it is averred, had full knowledge that I got the money, and also upon the authority of Morton, Bliss & Company, bankers of New York, through whom the draft for \$64,000 was said to have been negotiated for my benefit, as they confidently knew. Hearing

of this charge some weeks in advance of its publication, I procured the following statement from the two principal witnesses, who were quoted as having such definite knowledge against me :

“ ‘ UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

“ ‘ BOSTON, March 31, 1876.

“ ‘ *Dear Sir* :—In response to your inquiry, I beg leave to state that I have been treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company since April 8, 1871, and have necessarily known of all disbursements made since that date. During the entire period up to the present time I am sure that no money has been paid in any way or to any person by the company in which you were interested in any manner whatever. I make the statement in justice to the company, to you, and to myself.

“ ‘ Very respectfully yours,

“ ‘ E. H. ROLLINS.

“ ‘ HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.’

“ ‘ NEW YORK, April 6, 1876.

“ ‘ *Dear Sir* :—In answer to your inquiry, we beg to say that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest of any kind, direct or indirect.

“ ‘ We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

“ ‘ MORTON, BLISS & CO.

“ ‘ HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

“ ‘ WASHINGTON, D. C.’

“ ‘ Some persons on reading the letter of Morton, Bliss & Company said that its denial seemed to be confined to any payment that had passed through their books, whereas they might have paid a draft in which I was interested and yet no entry made of it on their books. On the criticism being made known to the firm, they at once addressed me the following letter :

“ ‘ NEW YORK, April 13, 1876.

“ ‘ *Dear Sir* :—It has been suggested to us that our letter of the 6th was not sufficiently inclusive or exclusive. In that letter we stated

"that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has ever passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest, direct or indirect." It may be proper for us to add that nothing has been paid to us in any form, or at any time, to any person or any corporation in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.

"We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

"MORTON, BLISS & CO.

"HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

"WASHINGTON, D. C.

"The two witnesses quoted for the original charge having thus effectually disposed of it, the charge itself reappeared in another form to this effect, namely: That a certain draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Company in 1871, through Thomas A. Scott, then president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for the sum of \$64,000, and that \$75,000 of the bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company were pledged as collateral; that the Union Pacific Company paid the draft and took up the collateral; that the cash proceeds of it went to me, and that I had furnished, or sold, or in some way conveyed or transferred to Thomas A. Scott, these Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds which had been used as collateral; that the bonds in reality had belonged to me or some friend or constituent of mine for whom I was acting. I endeavor to state the charge in its boldest form and in all its phases.

"I desire here and now to declare that all and every part of this story that connects my name with it, is absolutely untrue, without a particle of

foundation in fact, and without a tittle of evidence to substantiate it. I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely. I never had any business transactions whatever with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or any of its officers or agents or representatives, and never, in any manner, received from that Company, directly or indirectly, a single dollar in money, or stocks, or bonds, or any other form of value. And as to the particular transaction referred to, I never so much as heard of it until nearly two years after its alleged occurrence, when it was talked of, at the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation, in 1873. But while my denial ought to be conclusive, I should greatly regret to be compelled to leave the matter there. I am fortunately able to sustain my own declaration by the most conclusive evidence that the case admits of, or that human testimony can supply. If any person or persons know the truth or falsity of these charges, it must be the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. I accordingly addressed a note to the president of that company, a gentleman who has been a director of the company from its organization, I believe, who has a more thorough acquaintance with its business transactions, probably, than



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any other man. The correspondence, which I here submit, will explain itself, and leave nothing to be said. I will read these letters in their proper order. They need no comment.

“ ‘WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1876.

“ ‘*Dear Sir* :—You have doubtless observed the scandal now in circulation in regard to my having been interested in certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, alleged to have been purchased by your company in 1871. It is due to me, I think, that some statement in regard to the subject should be made by yourself, as the official head of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

“ ‘Very respectfully,

“ ‘J. G. BLAINE.

“ ‘SIDNEY DILLON, ESQ.,

“ ‘President Union Pacific Railroad Company.’

“ ‘OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,

“ ‘NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

“ ‘*Dear Sir* :—I have your favor of the 13th instant, and in reply desire to say that I have this day written Colonel Thomas A. Scott, who was president of the Union Pacific Company at the time of the transaction referred to, a letter, of which I send a copy herewith. On receipt of this reply, I will enclose it to you.

“ ‘Very respectfully,

“ ‘SIDNEY DILLON,

“ ‘*President*.

“ ‘HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

“ ‘Washington, D. C.’

“ ‘OFFICE OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO.,

“ ‘NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

“ ‘*Dear Sir* :—The press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, in 1871, were obtained from Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails, in some form, went to his benefit, and that the knowledge of those facts rests with the officers of the company and with yourself. These statements are injurious both to Mr. Blaine and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. There were never any facts to warrant them, and I think that a statement to the public is due both from you and myself. I desire, as president of the

company, to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and would be glad to hear from you on the subject.

“ ‘ Very respectfully,

“ ‘ SIDNEY DILLON,
“ ‘ *President.*

“ ‘ COL. THOMAS A. SCOTT,
“ ‘ Philadelphia, Pa.’

“ ‘ OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

“ ‘ NEW YORK, April 22, 1876.

“ ‘ *Dear Sir* :—As I advised you some days ago, I wrote Colonel Thomas A. Scott, and begged leave to enclose you his reply. I desire further to say that I was a director of the company and a member of the executive committee in 1871, and to add my testimony to that of Colonel Scott in verification of all that he has stated in the enclosed letter.

“ ‘ Truly yours,

“ ‘ SIDNEY DILLON,
“ ‘ *President.*

“ ‘ HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,
“ ‘ WASHINGTON, D. C.’

“ ‘ PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1876.

“ ‘ *My Dear Sir* :—I have your letter under date New York, April 15, 1876, stating that the press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were obtained from Hon. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit; that there never were any facts to warrant them; that it is your desire as president of the company to repel any such influence in the most emphatic manner, and asking me to make a statement in regard to the matter.

“ ‘ In reply, I beg leave to say that much as I dislike the idea of entering into any of the controversies that are before the public in these days of scandal from which but few men in public life seem to be exempt, I feel it my duty to state:

“ ‘ That the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871 were not purchased or received from Mr. Blaine, directly or indirectly, and that of the money paid by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or of the avails of said bonds, not one dollar went to Mr. Blaine or to any person for him, or for his benefit in any form.

“ ‘ All statements to the effect that Mr. Blaine ever had any transactions with me, directly or indirectly, involving money or valuables of any kind, are absolutely without foundation in fact.

"I take pleasure in making this statement to you, and you may use it in any manner you deem best for the interest of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

"Very truly yours,

"THOMAS A. SCOTT.

"SIDNEY DILLON, ESQ., President,

"UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, New York."

"Let me now, Mr. Speaker, briefly summarize what I presented: First, that the story of my receiving \$64,000 or any other sum of money, or anything of value, from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, directly or indirectly, or in any form, is absolutely disproved by the most conclusive testimony. Second, that no bond of mine was ever sold to the Atlantic and Pacific, or the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company, and that not a single dollar of money from either of these companies ever went to my profit or benefit. Third, that instead of receiving bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road as a gratuity, I never had one except at the regular market price; and instead of making a large fortune off that company, I have incurred a severe pecuniary loss from my investment in its securities, which I still retain; and out of such affairs as these grows the popular gossip of large fortunes amassed in Congress. I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker, that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these stories in private

circles. Emissaries of slander have visited editorial rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones, and at last, the revelations have been made. I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this hall ; I have taken and have given blows ; I have no doubt said many things in the heat of debate that I would gladly recall ; I have no doubt given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change ; but I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the Great Searcher of Hearts."

This speech was considered, by the majority of unprejudiced persons, to settle the whole matter in Mr. Blaine's favor. His explanations were so full and frank as, apparently, to leave nothing more to be desired for his entire vindication against the charges preferred. One of the foremost New York journals, *Harper's Weekly*, which was by no means friendly to Mr. Blaine, said, in commenting upon his speech and the accusation to which it was an answer :

"If nobody now appears to justify this accusation, it must be considered merely one of the reckless slanders to which every prominent public man is exposed, and no charge that may be

hereafter made against Mr. Blaine, unaccompanied by weighty testimony, will deserve any attention whatever."

Nobody who did appear, succeeded in justifying the accusation. Nevertheless, attacks were persistently made upon him, with a relentless malice that has seldom been equalled in the history of American politics. As the date of the Republican National Convention drew nearer, and all signs pointed more certainly to the choice of Mr. Blaine as its candidate for Presidency, the attacks upon him increased in intensity and virulence. On May 1st, a leading New York newspaper published a statement to the effect that Mr. Blaine had received, as a gift, certain shares in the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and it was added that there were positive and authentic witnesses to that effect, and that, at that very time, he was concerned in a lawsuit regarding the matter, in a Kansas court. Mr. Blaine immediately secured letters from the witnesses referred to, who were well-known lawyers and newspaper correspondents, explicitly denying that they had any knowledge of the affair whatever. He also proved, conclusively, that the Mr. Blaine who was interested in the Kansas lawsuit, was not himself, but his brother, John E. Blaine, who had settled in that State many years ago, and who had purchased the stock in dispute long before James G. Blaine had even been nominated for Congress. Thus Mr. Blaine completely refuted

this second charge against him, concluding his personal explanation in the House as follows :

“Having now noticed the two charges that have been so extensively circulated, I shall refrain from calling the attention of the House to any others that may be invented. To quote the language of another, ‘I do not propose to make my public life a perpetual and uncomfortable flea-hunt, in the vain efforts to run down stories which have no basis in truth, which are usually anonymous, and whose total refutation brings no punishment to those who have been guilty of originating them.’ ”

Thus far the campaign against Mr. Blaine had only succeeded in increasing his popularity and his strength as a Presidential candidate. But his enemies did not slacken their hostile efforts. On the very next day, Mr. Tarbox, of Massachusetts, introduced in the House a resolution, calling for an investigation of an alleged purchase by the Union Pacific Railroad Company of certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, for a price much greater than their real value. The Judiciary Committee, of which Mr. Proctor Knott was chairman, was instructed to conduct the investigation. Mr. Tarbox explicitly declared that this resolution was not aimed at Mr. Blaine, and thus secured its adoption without objection. The moment the committee began its work, however, it was evident that Mr. Blaine was the one

person held in view, and the investigation was conducted with the sole object of injuring his political prospects. He did not complain of the investigation. He did demand that it should be pushed forward promptly and thoroughly. This demand was not, however, granted. The investigation was made to drag along wearily, with the evident intention of postponing the final result until after the Republican Convention. It was reckoned that that body would not nominate Mr. Blaine for the Presidency while his conduct was actually under official investigation. Newspaper reports, connecting Mr. Blaine with certain transactions of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, were taken up, and a third issue against him was sought in what was known as the "Real Estate Pool."

The most striking feature of this whole business was the bringing forward of some of Mr. Blaine's private correspondence. Two witnesses, named Fisher and Mulligan, were brought on from Boston, to tell what they knew. Mulligan had been a confidential clerk, and had abstracted from among a mass of papers to which he had access a number of Mr. Blaine's letters, which were said to be fatally incriminating. The lovers of scandal at Washington and throughout the country were wild with delight at what promised to be a fatal blow at Mr. Blaine's reputation. Then it was suddenly announced that Mr. Blaine had rescued

his letters from the grasp of Mulligan, and now had them in his own pocket. This changed the aspect of the whole affair. It was thought that he had secured the letters in order to prevent their contents from being made public. His enemies exultantly declared that this was positive proof of his guilt, and his friends, for the moment, were filled with dismay. The Judiciary Committee immediately made a demand upon him that he give up the letters. This he refused to do, and in support of his refusal, produced the opinions of two of the most eminent lawyers of the day, ex-Judge Black, a Democrat, and the Hon. Matthew H. Carpenter, a Republican, to the effect that the letters were his own, and that no power could rightfully compel him to give them up. The committee did not venture to insist further upon their demand, nor even to report to the House his refusal to surrender the letters. The demand and the refusal were, however, known to everybody, and the air was filled with innumerable stories of the most outrageous character, all hostile to Mr. Blaine. The most extravagant statements were made concerning the contents of the letters, and since Mr. Blaine had refused to let the letters be made public, no denial of these charges could be made by his friends.

The 5th of June had now arrived. In a few days the National Republican Convention would meet at Cincinnati. Mr. Blaine's enemies were

full of exultation, and his friends were equally full of doubt and dismay. Neither friends nor foes had any idea of the startling stroke which he was about to deal. On that day he quietly arose in the House of Representatives, and said: "Mr. Speaker, if the morning hour has expired, I desire to speak on a question of privilege." The Speaker *pro tem.* replied that the morning hour had expired; whereupon Mr. Blaine proceeded as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, on the second day of May this resolution was passed by the House:

"WHEREAS, it is publicly alleged, and is not denied by the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that that corporation did, in the year 1871 or 1872, become the owner of certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, for which bonds the said Union Pacific Railroad Company paid a consideration largely in excess of their market or actual value, and that the board of directors of said Union Pacific Railroad Company, though urged, have neglected to investigate said transaction; therefore,

"Be it resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire if any such transaction took place, and, if so, what were the circumstances or inducements thereto, from what person or persons said bonds were obtained and upon what consideration, and whether the transaction was from corrupt design or in furtherance

of any corrupt object ; and that the committee have power to send for persons and papers.'

"That resolution on its face, and in its fair intent, was obviously designed to find out whether any improper thing had been done by the Union Pacific Railroad Company ; and of course, incidentally thereto, to find out with whom the transaction was made.

"No sooner was the sub-committee designated than it became entirely obvious that the resolution was solely and only aimed at me. I think there had not been three questions asked until it was evident that the investigation was to be a personal one upon me, and that the Union Pacific Railroad, or any other incident of the transaction, was secondary, insignificant and unimportant. I do not complain of that ; I do not say that I had any reason to complain of it. If the investigation was to be made in that personal sense, I was ready to meet it.

"The gentleman on whose statement the accusation rested was first called. He stated what he knew from rumor. Then there were called Mr. Rollins, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Millard, from Omaha, a Government director of the Union Pacific Road, and finally Thomas A. Scott. The testimony was completely and conclusively in disproof of the charge that there was any possibility that I could have had anything to do with the transaction. When the famous witness

Mulligan came here loaded with information in regard to the Fort Smith Road, the gentleman from Virginia drew out what he knew had no reference whatever to the question of investigation. He then and there insisted on all of my private memoranda being allowed to be exhibited by that man in reference to business that had no more connection, no more relation, no more to do with that investigation than with the North Pole.

“And the gentleman tried his best, also, though I believe that has been abandoned, to capture and use and control my private correspondence. This man has selected, out of correspondence running over a great many years, letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to me. He came here loaded with them. He came here for a sensation. He came here primed. He came here on that particular errand. I was advised of it, and I obtained those letters under circumstances which have been notoriously scattered over the United States, and are known to everybody. I have them. I claim that I have the entire right to those letters, not only by natural right, but by all the principles and precedents of law, as the man who held those letters in possession held them wrongfully. The committee that attempted to take those letters from that man, for use against me, proceeded wrongfully. It proceeded in all boldness to a most defiant violation of the ordinary private and personal rights which belong to every

American citizen. I wanted the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Virginia to introduce that question upon this floor, but they did not do it.

"I stood up and declined, not only on the conclusions of my own mind, but by eminent legal advice. I was standing behind the rights which belong to every American citizen, and if they wanted to treat the question in my person anywhere in the legislative halls or judicial halls, I was ready. Then there went forth everywhere the idea and impression that because I would not permit that man, or any man whom I could prevent from holding as a menace over my head my private correspondence, there must be in it something deadly and destructive to my reputation. I would like any gentleman to stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last eight or ten years. I would like any gentleman to say that. Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrong-doing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that I have defied the power of the House to compel me to produce these letters. I speak with all respect to this House. I know its powers, and I trust I respect

them. But I say that this House has no more power to order what shall be done or not done with my private correspondence, than it has with what I shall do in the nurture and education of my children, not a particle. The right is as sacred in the one case as it is in the other. But, sir, having vindicated that right, standing by it, ready to make any sacrifice in defence of it, here and now, if any gentleman wants to take issue with me on behalf of this House, I am ready for any extremity of contest or conflict in behalf of so sacred a right. And while I am so, I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty, I am not ashamed to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification I do not attempt to conceal, with a sense of the outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen, while I read those letters from this desk. (Applause.)

* * * * *

“This is the letter in which Mulligan says, and puts down in his abstract, that I admitted the sixty-four thousand dollar sale of bonds :

“WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1872.

“*My dear Mr. Fisher* :—I answered you very hastily last evening, as you said you wished for an immediate reply, and perhaps in my hurry I did not make myself fully understood. You have been, for some time, laboring under a totally erroneous impression in regard to my results in the Fort Smith matter. The sales of bonds which you spoke of my making,

and which you seem to have thought were for my own benefit, were entirely otherwise. I did not have the money in my possession forty-eight hours but paid it over directly to the parties whom I tried, by every means in my power, to protect from loss. I am very sure that you have little idea of the labors, the losses, the efforts and the sacrifices I have made within the past year to save those innocent persons, who invested on my request, from personal loss.

“And I say to you to-night, that I am immeasurably worse off than if I had never touched the Fort Smith matter. The demand you make upon me now is one which I am entirely unable to comply with. I cannot do it. It is not in my power. You say that “necessity knows no law.” That applies to me as well as to you, and when I have reached the point I am now at, I simply fall back on that law. You are as well aware as I am, that the bonds are due me under the contract. Could I have them, I could adjust many matters not now in my power, and as long as this and other matters remain unadjusted between us, I do not recognize the equity, or the lawfulness, of your calling on me for a partial settlement. I am ready at any moment to make a full, fair, comprehensive settlement with you, on the most liberal terms. I will not be exacting or captious or critical, but am ready and eager to make a broad and generous adjustment with you, and if we can’t agree ourselves, we can select a mutual friend who can easily compromise all points of difference between us.

“You will, I trust, see that I am disposed to meet you in a spirit of friendly cordiality, and yet with a sense of self-defence that impels me to be frank and expose to you my pecuniary weakness.

“With very kind regards to Mrs. Fisher, I am yours truly,

“J. G. BLAINE.

“W. FISHER, JR., ESQ.’

“I now pass to a letter dated Augusta, Me., October 4, 1869, but I read these letters now somewhat in their order. Now to this letter I ask the attention of the House. In the March session of 1869, the first one at which I was speaker, the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a land grant in the State of Arkansas to the Little Rock Road was reported. I never remember to have heard of the road, until at the last night of the

session, when it was up here for consideration. The gentlemen in Boston with whom I had relations did not have anything to do with that road for nearly three or four months after that time. It is in the light of that statement that I desire that letter read.

"In the autumn, six or eight months afterward, I was looking over the *Globe*, probably with some curiosity, if not pride, to see the decisions I had made the first five weeks I was speaker. I had not until then recalled this decision of mine, and when I came across it, all the facts came back to me fresh, and I wrote this letter :

(Personal.)

"AUGUSTA, ME., October 4, 1869.

"*My Dear Sir* :—I spoke to you a short time ago about a point of interest to your railroad company that occurred at the last session of the Congress.

"It was on the last night of the session, when the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock Road was reached, and Julian, of Indiana, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and, by right, entitled to the floor, attempted to put on the bill as an amendment, the Frémont El Paso scheme—a scheme probably well known to Mr. Caldwell. The House was thin, and the lobby in the Frémont interest had the thing all set up, and Julian's amendment was likely to prevail if brought to a vote. Roots, and the other members from Arkansas, who were doing their best for their own bill (to which there seemed to be no objection), were in despair, for it was well known that the Senate was hostile to the Frémont scheme, and if the Arkansas bill had gone back to the Senate with Julian's amendments, the whole thing could have gone on the table and slept the sleep of death.

"In this dilemma, Roots came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules; for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that Julian's amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane; but he had not sufficient confidence in his own knowledge of the rules to make the point, but he said General Logan was opposed

to the Frémont scheme and would probably make the point. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment moved by Julian, and at once passed without objection.

“‘At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it, I did him a great favor.

“ ‘ Sincerely yours,

“ ‘ J. G. BLAINE.

“ ‘ W. FISHER, JR., ESQ.,

“ ‘ 24 India Street, Boston.’

“ The amendment referred to in that letter will be found in *The Congressional Globe* of the First Session of the Forty-first Congress, page 702. That was before the Boston persons had ever touched the road.

* * * * *

“ There is mentioned in another letter \$6,000 of land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad for which I stood as only part owner; these were only in part mine. As I have started to make a personal explanation, I want to make a full explanation in regard to this matter. Those bonds were not mine except in this sense: In 1869, a lady who is a member of my family and whose financial affairs I have looked after for many years—many gentlemen will know to whom I refer without my being more explicit—bought, on the recommendation of Mr. Hooper, \$6,000 in land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad as they were issued in 1869. She got them on what was called the stockholder's basis; I think it was a very favorable basis on which they distributed



BLAINE'S MANSION AT WASHINGTON.

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the bonds. These \$6,000 of land-grant bonds were obtained in that way.

"In 1871, the Union Pacific Railroad Company broke down, and these bonds fell so that they were worth about forty cents on the dollar. She was anxious to make herself safe, and I had so much confidence in the Fort Smith land bonds, that I proposed to her to make an exchange. The six bonds were in my possession, and I had previously advanced money to her for certain purposes, and held a part of these bonds as security for that advance. The bonds, in that sense, and in that sense only, were mine—that they were security for the loan which I had made. They were all literally hers; they were all sold finally for her account—not one of them for me. I make this statement in order to be perfectly fair.

"I have now read these fifteen letters, the whole of them; the House and the country now know all there is in them. They are dated, and they correspond precisely with Mulligan's memorandum which I have here.

* * * * *

"I do not wish to detain the House, but I have one or two more observations to make. The specific charge that went to the committee, as it affects me, is whether I was a party in interest to the \$64,000 transaction; and I submit that up to this time there has not been one particle of proof before the committee, sustaining that charge.

Gentlemen have said that they heard somebody else say, and generally, when that somebody else was brought on the stand, it appeared that he did not say it at all. Colonel Thomas A. Scott swore very positively and distinctly, under the most rigid cross-examination, all about it. Let me call attention to that letter of mine which Mulligan says refers to that. I ask your attention, gentlemen, as closely as if you were a jury, while I show the absurdity of that statement. It is in evidence that, with the exception of a small fraction, the bonds which were sold to parties in Maine were first mortgage bonds. It is in evidence, over and over again, that the bonds which went to the Union Pacific Road were land-grant bonds. Therefore, it is a moral impossibility that the bonds taken up to Maine should have gone to the Union Pacific Railroad. They were of different series, different kinds, different colors, everything different, as different as if not issued within a thousand miles of each other. So on its face, it is shown that it could not be so.

“There has not been, I say, one positive piece of testimony in any direction. They sent to Arkansas to get some hearsay about bonds. They sent to Boston to get some hearsay. Mulligan was contradicted by Fisher, and Atkins and Scott swore directly against him. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., never heard my name in the matter. Carnegie, who negotiated the note,

never heard my name in that connection. Rollins said it was one of the intangible rumors he spoke of as floating in the air. Gentlemen who have lived any time in Washington, need not be told that intangible rumors get very considerable circulation here ; and if a man is to be held accountable before the bar of public opinion for intangible rumors, who in the House will stand ?

“Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you, and I ask it with some feeling, can stand a severer scrutiny of, or more rigid investigation into, your private correspondence ? That was the worst he could do.

“There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the Judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable despatch, and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that cable despatch was sent to him ?”

Mr. Frye. Who ?

Mr. Blaine. To Josiah Caldwell.

Mr. Knott. I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hamton and myself have both endeavored

to get Mr. Caldwell's address, and have not yet got it.

Mr. Blaine. Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a despatch from Mr. Caldwell?

Mr. Knott. I will explain that directly.

Mr. Blaine. I want a categorical answer.

Mr. Knott. I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell.

Mr. Blaine. You did?

Mr. Knott. How did you know I got it?

Mr. Blaine. When did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it.

Mr. Knott. Answer my question first.

Mr. Blaine. I never heard of it until yesterday.

Mr. Knott. How did you hear it?

Mr. Blaine. I heard that you got a despatch last Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, from Josiah Caldwell, completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it. (Protracted applause upon the floor and in the galleries.) I want the gentleman to answer. (After a pause.) Does the gentleman from Kentucky decline to answer?

"The gentleman from Kentucky in responding probably, I think, from what he said, intended to convey the idea that I had some illegitimate knowledge of how that despatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have had no means of knowing from the telegraph

office whether the despatch was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out, and secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statements of Thomas A. Scott, which he had just read in the New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charge which I am bound to believe, from the suppression of that report, that the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me." (Protracted applause from the floor and galleries.)

No description can do justice to the tremendous scene in the House of Representatives at the culmination of this address, or to the profound impression produced by it throughout the country. The House was literally thunderstruck at Mr. Blaine's magnificent courage and audacity, as well as by his frankness, in thus producing and publicly reading the suppressed letters, the very letters that the man Mulligan had abstracted and had brought to Washington with such a prodigious flourish of trumpets, the very letters which Mr. Blaine had recovered from him and for the time being had sternly suppressed, the very letters which, while they were suppressed, had been advertised by Mr. Blaine's enemies as teeming

with indubitable evidence of his guilt. It was clear to every fair-minded man, as he read them, one by one, that there was not a word in them in the least degree reflecting upon his absolute integrity. These letters had been picked, with almost devilish ingenuity, out of a voluminous correspondence extending over many years, and had been carefully separated from the context of correspondence that would explain them and show their innocent nature. "The man," said Mr. Blaine justly, "did his worst, the very worst he could do." But that worst not only fell harmless : it rebounded with fatal force against its malicious and despicable author.

The climax of the scene, however, was in the direct passage of arms with Mr. Knott. There was lacking one witness who could affirmatively have proved Mr. Blaine's entire innocence. This was Mr. Josiah Caldwell, who was then travelling in Europe. He possessed exact knowledge of all the transactions in question, and was able abundantly to vindicate Mr. Blaine's integrity. Mr. Blaine did not know his address, and therefore could not communicate with him by cable. But Mr. Knott had ascertained his address, and had communicated with him in hope that his evidence would be hostile to Mr. Blaine. It proved to be exactly the reverse, and the Judiciary Committee thereupon suppressed his despatch. When Mr. Blaine asked Mr. Knott if he had not received

such a despatch, Mr. Knott endeavored to evade the question. But the question, and Mr. Knott's evident disinclination to answer it, wrought the interest of the Members of the House and the spectators in the galleries up to the highest pitch.

And when, at last, Mr. Blaine, all ablaze with righteous wrath, strode down the aisle of the House, and launched full in the faces of his persecutors the tremendous accusation, "You have received from Josiah Caldwell a despatch completely and absolutely exonerating me, and you have suppressed it!" the words, the gesture, the expression of the indignant and triumphant man on trial, and the confusion of his overwhelmed prosecutor, all together formed a dramatic scene without parallel in the history of the House. A wild storm of applause broke from the floor and the galleries, which the presiding officer was powerless to quell. All the proceedings that followed were merely perfunctory. That one supreme moment settled the controversy. Thereafter Mr. Blaine's enemies growled and carped against him in impotent rage. The verdict of the Committee was a negative one, instead of the affirmative acquittal to which Mr. Blaine was evidently entitled. But the unanimous verdict of unprejudiced public opinion was overwhelmingly, affirmatively and enthusiastically in Mr. Blaine's favor. The envenomed attacks upon Mr. Blaine, with which the press had teemed, were now rivalled by the

ridicule, contempt and denunciation that were poured upon Knott and Mulligan. And while Mr. Blaine failed to receive the Presidential nomination at Cincinnati, he had the satisfaction of securing, at Washington, such a vindication as few public men under serious charges have ever enjoyed, and of bringing upon his enemies a confusion, a confutation, and a dishonor, from which they have never recovered.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SENATOR.

A Prominent Position Quickly Taken in the Upper Chamber—Opposition to the Electoral Commission and to the Southern Surrender Policy of President Hayes—Discussion of the Southern Elections Question—Opposition to the Bland Silver Bill—Restriction of Chinese Immigration—Defeating a Democratic Conspiracy in Maine—The Shipping Interests of the Nation.

Senator Morrill, of Maine, resigned his place in Congress in July, 1876, in order to become Secretary of the Treasury, and on the tenth of that month the Governor appointed Mr. Blaine to succeed him in the Senate. There were many among his friends who at first regretted this transfer of the brilliant Representative to the Upper House. In his old place he was the unrivalled leader of his party, and his talents shone their brightest in the fierce battles that raged in the popular assembly. But in the more conservative and dignified Senate, it was thought, he would be at a disadvantage. His dashing style would be out of place there, and he would be outranked and cast into the shade by the accomplished statesmen who held sway there.

But they were ill-advised who had such fears. They underrated their man. They failed to do justice to his versatility, and to the substantial

foundation of thorough scholarship that underlay the dazzling superstructure of his popular fame. And they were soon undeceived. Mr. Blaine did not wait long before he showed himself the possessor of a full degree of Senatorial dignity, and compelled doubters and critics to recognize in him a statesman as sagacious as he was brilliant, and well worthy to rank among the greatest of those who have made the Senate of the United States illustrious.

There is an unwritten law of the Senate that requires a new member to remain for a time in the background; perhaps seen, but surely not heard. He must sit at the feet of his elders and learn of them, before he may rise and take part in the grave deliberations of that august body. Mr. Blaine did not heed this rule. He did not make haste to place himself conspicuously before the Senate. But the moment there was need of him, the moment his duty to his country prompted him to participate in debate, he did so without hesitation. He spoke, moreover, not as a novice, but as an "old Parliamentary hand." His air was that of a Senator of more years' service than he had seen weeks. And so did he acquit himself, with such modesty, yet authority, with such force, yet dignity, that his appearance was welcomed by even the greatest sticklers for precedent, and he was at once recognized as a leader in the Senate, as he had been in the House.

One striking episode of his Senatorial career is treated in a separate chapter—his participation in the deadlock debate over the President's right to employ the army to keep the peace and to enforce the laws at the polls when a Federal election was in progress. During his service in the Senate many important measures came before that House for consideration, and upon the mall he expressed himself with his accustomed frankness and force.

When the famous dispute arose over the counting of the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, he was a steadfast believer in the rightful triumph of the Republican candidates. He looked with pronounced disfavor, however, upon the Electoral Commission, as a device not warranted by the Constitution, and beyond the authority of Congress to create. "I am not prepared," he said, "to vest any body of men with the tremendous power which this bill gives to fourteen gentlemen, four of whom are to complete their number by selecting a fifteenth. I do not believe that Congress itself has the power which it proposes to confer on these fifteen gentlemen." The bill establishing the Electoral Commission was, however, adopted and Mr. Blaine cordially concurred in the result.

He was in general a supporter of the administration of President Hayes, but he strongly disapproved its policy in recognizing the Democratic

State Governments in South Carolina and Louisiana in the spring of 1877. In his view of the case, that was a surrender of the rights of the majority to the demands of an aggressive and law-defying minority. On this subject he spoke more than once in the Senate in no uncertain tones. In December, 1878, he brought forward and supported in a powerful speech a resolution which had the two-fold purpose of placing on record, in a definite and authentic form, the frauds and outrages by which some recent elections had been carried by the Democratic party in the Southern States, and of finding if there were any method by which a repetition of these crimes against a free ballot might be prevented. "We know," he said, "that one hundred and six Representatives in Congress were recently chosen in the States formerly slave holding, and that the Democrats elected one hundred and one, or possibly one hundred and two, and the Republicans four, or possibly five. We know that thirty-five of these Representatives were assigned to the Southern States by reason of the colored population, and that the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of the colored people has been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the Democratic party of the South.

"The issue thus raised before the country is not one of mere sentiment for the rights of the

negro ; though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the balance in any controversy ; nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the 'bloody shirt', to quote the elegant vernacular of Democratic vituperation ; nor still further is the issue only a question of the equality of the black voter of the South with the white voter of the South. The issue has taken a far wider range, one of portentous magnitude, and that is, whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South in shaping the policy and fixing the destiny of this country.

"Let me illustrate my meaning. South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana send seventeen Representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is 1,035,000 whites and 1,224,000 colored. Of the seventeen Representatives, nine were apportioned to these States by reason of their colored population and only eight by reason of their white population ; and yet, in the choice of the entire seventeen Representatives, the colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kindred on the shores of Senegambia. In contrast, take two States in the North, Iowa and Wisconsin, with seventeen Representatives. They have a white population of 2,247,000, considerably more than double the entire white population of the three Southern States I

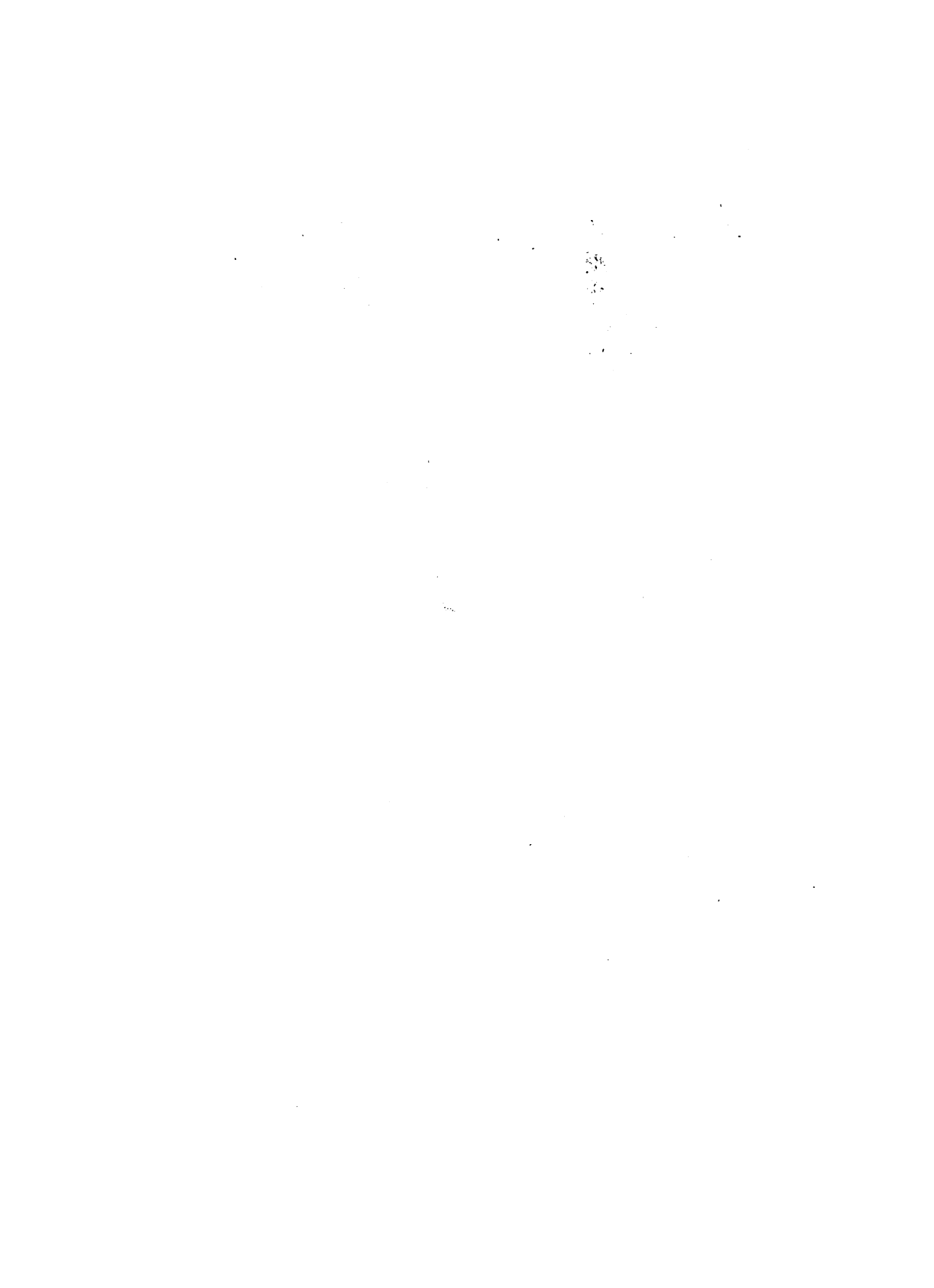
have named. In Iowa and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes 132,000 white population to send a Representative to Congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana every 60,000 white people send a Representative. In other words, 60,000 white people in the Southern States have precisely the same political power in the government of the country that 132,000 white people have in the North. In levying every tax, therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the Republic, the Confederate soldier South is enabled to cast a vote that is twice as powerful and twice as influential as the vote of the Union soldier North. The white men of the South did not acquire and do not hold this superior power by reason of law or justice, but in disregard and defiance of both.

“The seizure of this power is wanton usurpation ; it is flagrant outrage ; it is violent perversion of the whole theory of Republican government. And this injustice is wholly unprovoked. * * But whenever a protest is made against such injustice, the response we get comes to us in the form of a taunt, ‘What are you going to do about it?’ and ‘How do you propose to help yourself?’ This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which intrenched Wrong always gives to inquiring Justice ; and those who imagine it to be

conclusive do not know the temper of the American people."

Early in his Senatorial career the currency question, which he had already discussed in the House, came up. The Senate had under consideration the bill originated by Mr. Bland in the House of Representatives, providing for the coinage of silver dollars of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the same to be legal tender. To this measure Mr. Blaine expressed strong opposition, although many of his party associates favored it. He argued that it was grossly unjust to coin a dollar of such a weight, containing only 90 or 92 cents' worth of silver, and make it a legal tender for debts contracted to be paid in dollars of 100 cents. Seeing that the bill was bound to pass, he strove to amend it so as to provide for a dollar of 425 grains. Speaking in support of this amendment he said: "We hear it proclaimed that the people demand cheap money. I deny it. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard, that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard, that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor."

Mr. Blaine's amendment was rejected and the bill in its original form was passed. The President



occupy that great space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific coast. * * The immigrants that come to us from all portions of Europe come here with the idea of the family as such engraven on their minds and in their customs and in their habits, as we have it. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogeneous element. The idea of comparing European immigration with an immigration that has no regard for family, that does not recognize the relation of husband and wife, that does not observe the tie of parent and child, that does not have in the slightest degree the ennobling and civilizing influences of the hearthstone and the fireside! There is not a peasant's cottage inhabited by a Chinaman; there is not a hearthstone, in the sense we understand it. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense.

"I have heard a great deal about their cheap labor. I do not myself believe in cheap labor. I do not believe that cheap labor should be an object of legislation. There is not a laborer on the Pacific coast to-day who does not feel wounded and grieved and crushed by the competition that comes from this source. It is servile labor. It is not free labor such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. We can choose here to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the

American free laborer or of the servile laborer from China."

The bill which Mr. Blaine thus advocated was passed by both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Hayes on the ground that it was a violation of treaty obligations. A few years later another and still more rigorous bill was introduced and adopted, but Mr. Blaine was not then in the Senate.

The attitude taken by Mr. Blaine in advocacy of the protective tariff system is fully set forth elsewhere. One other striking incident of his Senatorial career, although not directly pertaining to the business of that House, occurred in the winter of 1879 and 1880. The State election in Maine in the fall of 1879 was bitterly contested and the result was very close. There was no reasonable doubt, however, that the Republicans had won. But the Democrats, who had for the preceding year had possession of the State Government, expressed the determination to continue in office. They based their claim to do so on certain alleged defective returns. Their attempt might have been successful, had not Mr. Blaine, with characteristic promptness and firmness, set on foot active measures to defeat it. He made at his home in Augusta an indignant speech, denouncing the Democratic plot in unsparing terms. In the end the Democrats were compelled to abandon their unlawful position and to surrender

the State government to the rightfully-elected Republican officers. It was recognized that this result was due almost entirely to Mr. Blaine's endeavors, and thus a great addition was made to the debt of gratitude which the people of Maine already owed to him.

Mr. Blaine also distinguished himself in the Senate by his advocacy of measures for the benefit of American commercial and shipping interests, making several important speeches on the subject. At the expiration of the fragmentary term for which he was appointed, he was elected by the Maine Legislature for another full term. He did not serve during the whole of the latter, however, being summoned in 1881 to another position, in the Executive Department of the Government.

CHAPTER IX.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

The Congressional Deadlock and Political Debate of May, 1879—The Question of State Rights *versus* National Sovereignty at Issue—Addresses by Great Party Leaders—Senator Eaton's Presentation of the Democratic Side—Mr. Blaine's Reply—Full Text of his Masterly Oration.

The spring of 1879 was marked in Congress by a long and bitter political struggle. The Democrats had a majority in each House, while a Republican, Mr. Hayes, was in the Presidential chair. A strong effort was made by the Democrats, under the lead chiefly of Southern members, formerly identified with the Rebellion, to enact legislation impairing the authority of the Federal Government in electoral matters. A bill was passed forbidding the use of United States troops to preserve the peace or for any other purpose at the polls. This was so framed as to destroy the right of the Federal Government to maintain its own lawful authority, which it had exercised without question for a hundred years. The President promptly vetoed this measure on constitutional grounds; whereupon the Democrats threatened to withhold the appropriations necessary for the conduct of the government. Thus a deadlock ensued, the Republican minority

standing firmly by the President and preventing the passage of the bill over his veto. There was a long and acrimonious debate, in which the whole question of State Rights and National Sovereignty was discussed. Senator Conkling, Senator Edmunds and others made important speeches on the Republican side, and Senator Hill, Senator Hampton and others upheld the Democratic side.

Conspicuous among the Democratic leaders was Senator Eaton, of Connecticut. Early in the debate it was announced that he would presently make a great speech, which would cover the Republican leaders with confusion, and which would especially disconcert Mr. Blaine. This announcement was fulfilled on May 16th, so far as Mr. Eaton was able to fulfil it. He made on that day an eloquent speech, in which he made perhaps the best presentation of the Democratic side of the case that was heard during the debate. But he did not make the pointed and vigorous attack upon Mr. Blaine which had been expected. An immediate reply was made by Senator Conkling, and it scarcely seemed necessary for Senator Blaine to take any especial notice of Mr. Eaton's remarks. He decided to do so, however, and announcement was made that he would speak to the question on May 19th. On that date a crowded and distinguished audience gathered in the Senate Chamber to hear him; and it was not disappointed. He traversed in a most effective manner

the whole ground of the debate, addressing himself not only to the answering of Senator Eaton, but Senator Hill, Senator Bayard and Senator Hampton as well. Historical arguments had entered largely into the debate, and on this ground Mr. Blaine showed himself to be entirely at home. The familiarity with political and constitutional history which he displayed delighted his friends and dismayed his enemies, while it astonished both. And when he took his seat, it was felt on both sides that no further discussion could, after his address, adduce any new fact or argument of importance in behalf of the National cause.

Mr. Blaine's speech on this occasion is here reproduced in full, as an essential part of the stirring political history of those times, and as a complete expression of his views on a constitutional question of the greatest importance.

MR. PRESIDENT: Whether the honorable Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Eaton) or myself should the more correctly remember a quotation from Mr. Webster's speeches is a matter of very small personal consequence, and of no public importance whatever. It is not, therefore, with any intention of indicating a better memory or a more accurate quotation that I refer to this subject; but it is because there has been a labored and persistent attempt, in which I am sorry the Senator from Connecticut has taken part, to **misrepresent**

Mr. Webster and declare that near the close of his life and at the end of his political career he changed his views, and that he had somewhere to some public assemblage practically retracted the great arguments he had made against the State-rights heresies and in behalf of the Constitution and the Union. The honorable Senator from Connecticut on the occasion to which he has himself made reference spoke thus: "I said that Mr. Webster called this 'a confederacy of States.' I say he called it not only a confederacy of States, but a confederation of States."

Further down, during a little colloquy between the Senator and myself, he said: "When he reads a few words from a certain speech of Mr. Webster, does the honorable Senator from Maine undertake to assert on this floor that Mr. Webster did not again and again call this government not only a confederation of States but a compact between States? I say he did."

Further on the Senator said: "When the proper time arrives—I have not the library of Mr. Webster in my pocket, I do not carry it around with me (laughter)—when the proper time arrives I will show that Mr. Webster called this a confederacy and the Constitution a compact."

The honorable Senator came into the Senate on Friday last and very fully and magnanimously admitted that he had not been able to find, anywhere, in Mr. Webster's speeches, that he had

called this government a "confederacy of States," but he was very sure he had called it a compact and "a compact between the States." Let me read what the honorable Senator said: "In 1851, in his celebrated Capon Springs speech, the language of Mr. Webster admits of no dispute. Whatever he may have said on other occasions, whatever he said in his great discussion on the floor of the Senate with Mr. Hayne or with Mr. Calhoun, on the occasion of this speech, in the most unqualified manner he asserted the fact for which I contend, that the Constitution is a compact between parties competent to enter into a compact, to wit, the States."

The honorable Senator held in his hand at that time a very mischievous book, and I may say he derived his facts, if not his inspiration, from that book, which I have now before me. It is a book written by a gentleman of great influence in the Southern country, of acknowledged ability, of long and eminent service in the public councils—Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia. It is, as I have said, a mischievous book. It is mischievous in its title, it is mischievous in its preface, it is mischievous in every word from the opening to the closing chapter; and it is mischievous because, although a sincere man himself, I believe it is an elaborate tissue of absolute misrepresentations, and misrepresentations from a sincere man are much more mischievous than

misrepresentations from one who designs to misrepresent.

In this book, which the honorable Senator from Connecticut then held in his hand, Mr. Stephens takes the ground that Mr. Webster had recanted and changed his views in regard to the nature of our government. On the four hundred and third page of the first volume he says: "But besides all this, as a further proof of Mr. Webster's change of views as to the Constitution being a compact between the States, I cite you to a later speech made by him at Capon Springs, in Virginia, on the 28th of June, 1851."

And he quotes then what the Senator from Connecticut quoted. Then Mr. Stephens says: "In this speech Mr. Webster distinctly held that the Union was a union of States. That the Union was founded upon a compact."

Further on Mr. Stephens says: "I did not agree with him (Mr. Webster) in his exposition of the Constitution in 1833, but I did fully and cordially agree with him in his exposition in 1839 and 1851. According to that, the Constitution was and is a compact between the States."

And in the ingenious attempt to justify the secession that took place in 1861, handing it down to posterity in a history entitled "The War between the States," instead of a rebellion against the Government, Mr. Stephens endeavors to

enlist Mr. Webster as one of the witnesses that justified that line of proceeding.

Mr. President, mere definition is not a matter on which time can be profitably spent, much less on the rhetorical use of a word. When a man speaks of a "compact" rhetorically, when he speaks of a "continental empire" rhetorically, or when he speaks of an "imperial republic" rhetorically, or when, like the Senator from Connecticut, he speaks of a "representative republic of sovereign States," I do not expect to hold him very closely to the line of the definition; and if it were a mere matter of words as to how this man or that man happened in a piece of public declamation to define the nature of the Government, it would not be worth while here to spend the time of the Senate upon it. But the honorable Senator from Connecticut knows, and all with whom he is associated in the political revolution now attempted in this country know, that upon the line of division involved in these words is waged the contest between the two great parties that are contending for mastery in this country; that here is involved the true construction under which this government is to be administered—whether the Government of the United States shall have the power to uphold itself, or whether it shall be the mere creature of the States, living and breathing and moving at their will and pleasure. On the two parties in this country divide; and

I have never known a more extraordinary attempt—I will not say disingenuous, for that would imply motive—I have never known a more extraordinary attempt to twist or turn or confound distinctions than the attempt to make Mr. Webster's speech at Capon Springs the basis on which this revelation of his change of view should be established. Both Mr. Stephens in his history and the honorable Senator from Connecticut in his speech quoted from a pamphlet copy of Mr. Webster's Capon Springs address. I thought I discovered when the honorable Senator was speaking, that he was not especially familiar with the writings of Mr. Webster. I hope he will not think me scant in courtesy if I say that I have discovered still less familiarity now, because he need not have gone to Mr. Stephens's history to get these extracts nor need he have referred to lost pamphlets, containing the whole speech, for here in the authentic life of Mr. Webster, the biography to which Mr. Webster's friends are willing to trust his fame, his life by George T. Curtis, the speech is given in full. And just after that speech was delivered this same delusion which the Senator from Connecticut indicates went all over the South. It was everywhere heralded in the South that Mr. Webster had defined the Union as "a compact," and here is what his eminent biographer says in regard to the report :—

“What Mr. Webster had said at Capon Springs, in speaking of one of the compacts or compromises between the Northern and Southern sections of the Union, on which the Constitution was founded, was at once misrepresented, especially in North Carolina” (there was an important election pending in that State at the time, I believe), “as a confirmation by him of the doctrine that the Constitution itself is a compact between sovereign States, and as drawing after it, as a resulting right, the right of State secession from the Union. A citizen of North Carolina accordingly wrote to Mr. Webster on this subject, and received from him the following answer, which was immediately made public.”

I will not read the whole of it, but Mr. Webster says, speaking of the government: “It is not a limited confederation, but a government; and it proceeds upon the idea that it is to be perpetual, like other forms of government, subject only to be dissolved by revolution. What I said at Capon Springs was an argument addressed to the North, and intended to convince the North that if, by its superiority of numbers, it should defeat the operation of a plain, undoubted and undeniable injunction of the Constitution, intended for the especial protection of the South, such a proceeding must necessarily end in the breaking up of the government; that is to say, in a revolution.”

Here is what Mr. Webster, in the speech itself, said in reviewing the condition of public sentiment then threatening, as it afterward broke out in revolution; and here is what Mr. Stephens is careful not to quote, and what, therefore, my honorable friend in his speech could not have been expected to quote. Mr. Webster, in referring to the disunion movement found in the South, the State-rights movement then running all over the South, said :

"I make no argument against resolutions, conventions, secession speeches, or proclamations. Let these things go on. The whole matter, it is to be hoped, will blow over, and men will return to a sounder mode of thinking. *But one thing,*" (and this is put in italics here, as it was in the *National Intelligencer*, which was Mr. Webster's immediate organ in those days), "*But one thing,* gentlemen, be assured of, the first step taken in the programme of secession, which shall be an actual infringement of the Constitution or the laws, will be promptly met. (Great applause.) And I would not remain an hour in any administration that should not immediately meet any such violation of the Constitution and the law effectually and at once. (Prolonged applause.)"

Mr. Stephens does not quote that. But, Mr. President, how absurd, how unjust, is the idea of going around and catching up a chance speech at a watering-place in order to convince a certain

section of this country which drifted into war in support of a bad theory, and which is drifting back into that theory as fast as it can ! How absurd, how unjust, is the idea of picking up a chance speech delivered in answer to a serenade as the conclusive constitutional opinions of Mr. Webster, when Mr. Webster himself had left in the very last year of his life, and after that speech was delivered, six volumes of his works, on which he desired to go down to posterity, on which he rested his fame, and on which he inscribed formal introductions ; from which I quote the following : "The principles and opinions expressed in these productions are such as I believe to be essential to the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution, and the advancement of the country to still higher stages of prosperity and renown. These objects have constituted my polar star during the whole of my political life, which has now extended through more than half the period of the existence of the government."

On these speeches, delivered by Mr. Webster, in the Senate and in the House and on great public occasions, revised by himself, published under his auspices, he committed himself to history ; and from these neither Mr. Stephens, in his mischievous history, nor the honorable Senator from Connecticut affects to quote anything at all. You can hardly open a solitary page in the whole six volumes that does not contain a startling refutation

of all the theories that they now pretend Mr. Webster had admitted in the closing days of his life. Let me pick out one instance at random.

In some very brief remarks that I made the other afternoon, when the bill was about to be voted upon which the President vetoed, I stated that the Democratic party of to-day as represented in this chamber were the followers of the State-rights school of Democracy represented by Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Breckinridge. I believe I was correct in stating that; I believe I was quite within the facts. I read now from Mr. Calhoun's own definition in his celebrated discussion with Mr. Webster, and I think the resolution exactly fits and fills the idea of the Senator from Connecticut as to the true theory of this Government, if I understood him aright. Mr. Calhoun submitted the following: "Resolved, That the people of the several States composing these United States are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate sovereign community, each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the Union, of which the said compact is the bond, is a Union between the States ratifying the same."

That is the Democratic theory to-day. I doubt if there is a Senator on the other side of the chamber who will controvert these words of Mr. Calhoun; the Senator from Connecticut asserts the same doctrine in terms. Mr. Calhoun then

goes on in a long series of resolutions controverting the idea that we constitute a nation. In answer, Mr. Webster, after an elaborate speech, sums up and says: "And now, sir, against all these theories and opinions, I maintain, first: That the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy or compact between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities, but a Government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals."

I know you will not get tired hearing Mr. Webster. I am making a very good speech out of his works, far better than anything I could say myself. The honorable Senator dwelt at length, and dwelt with that modest form of affirmation which sometimes distinguishes his utterances, upon the idea that no man could deny that it was the States that formed the Constitution, and he quoted as conclusive on that point the provision that it should go into effect upon the ratification of nine States. Mr. Webster, in his second speech on Foote's resolution, spoke thus: "Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman (Mr. Calhoun) maintains is a notion founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this Government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular Government, erected by the people; those who administer it, responsible to the people; and itself capable of



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being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just as truly emanating from the people, as the State governments. It is created for one purpose; the State governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs." And then Mr. Webster adds: "We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State governments. It is of no moment to the argument, that certain acts of the State Legislatures are necessary to fill our seats in this body. That is not one of their original State powers, a part of the sovereignty of the State. It is a duty which the people by the Constitution itself have imposed on the State Legislatures; and which they might have left to be performed elsewhere, if they had seen fit." He says in another speech: "So much, sir, for the argument, even if the premises of the gentleman were granted or could be proved. But, sir, the gentleman has failed to maintain his leading proposition. He has not shown, it cannot be shown, that the Constitution is 'a compact between State governments.' The Constitution itself, in its very front, refutes that idea. It declares that it is ordained and established by the people of the United States."

And yet Mr. Stephens solemnly represents and asserts that Mr. Webster recanted that opinion.

"The Constitution itself in its very front, refutes that idea. It declares that it is ordained and established by the people of the United States. So far from saying that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established by the people of the several States ; but it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States in the aggregate. The gentleman says it must mean no more than the people of the several States. Doubtless the people of the several States, taken collectively, constitute the people of the United States ; but it is in this their collective capacity, it is as all the people of the United States, that they establish the Constitution. So they declare, and words cannot be plainer than the words used. When the gentleman says the Constitution is a compact between the States he uses language exactly applicable to the old confederation. He speaks as if he were in Congress before 1789. He describes fully that old state of things then existing. The confederation was in strictness a compact ; the States, as States, were parties to it. We had no other general government."

The other allegation of Mr. Stephens was that Mr. Webster, in 1838, five years after his speeches of 1833, had refused to vote against certain resolutions of Mr. Calhoun, and that this refusal was a very pregnant suggestion that he had then changed his mind. He makes a very solemn

presentation of the fact that in a series of five resolutions which Mr. Calhoun introduced in 1838, involving all the heretical doctrines of the State-rights, pro-slavery democracy, Mr. Webster had not voted. He does not say that Mr. Webster voted for them, but that he had not voted against them. Those resolutions of Mr. Calhoun were introduced in December, 1837. They went on, as such resolutions will, being a foot-ball for political debate, for some months. On the 22d of March, 1838, after they had been passed upon by the Senate, Mr. Webster referred to them as follows, in regard to the slavery question: "Sir, this is a very grave matter; it is a subject very exciting and inflammable. I take, of course, all the responsibility belonging to my opinions; but I desire those opinions to be understood, and fairly stated. If I am to be regarded as an enemy to the South because I could not support the gentleman's resolutions, be it so. I cannot purchase favors from any quarter by the sacrifice of clear and conscientious convictions. The principal resolution declared that Congress had plighted its faith not to interfere either with slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Now, sir, that is quite a new idea. I never heard it advanced until this session." Mr. Webster then proceeds to argue still further: "On such a question, sir, when I am asked what the Constitution is, or whether any power granted by it has

been compromised away, or, indeed, could be compromised away, I must express by honest opinion, and always shall express it if I say anything, notwithstanding it may not meet concurrence either in the South, or the North, or the East, or the West. I cannot express by my vote what I do not believe. The gentleman has chosen to bring that subject into this debate, with which it has no concern, but he may make the most of it, if he thinks he can produce unfavorable impressions against me at the South for my negative to his fifth resolution. As to the rest of them, they were commonplaces generally or abstractions, in regard to which one may well feel himself not called on to vote at all."

And with that record right before him Mr. Stephens writes that Mr. Webster's ominous refusal to vote on the resolutions indicated a change of mind, when here was his defiant review of the whole subject of Mr. Calhoun's heresies. And then Mr. Webster proceeded with some remarks which I am disposed to think might now be addressed to the other side of the chamber, *mutatis mutandis*, and we should hardly realize that forty years had gone by. Let me read a single paragraph—I wish it were original with me, addressed as Mr. Webster then addressed it—to the opposite side of the chamber:—

"The honorable member from Carolina himself habitually indulges in charges of usurpation and

oppression against the government of his country. He daily announces its important measures in the language in which our revolutionary fathers spoke of the oppressions of the mother country. Not merely against executive usurpation, either real or supposed, does he utter these sentiments, but against laws of Congress, laws passed by large majorities, laws sanctioned for a course of years by the people. These laws he proclaims, every hour, to be but a series of acts of oppression. He speaks of them as if it were an admitted fact that such is their true character. This is the language he utters, these are the sentiments he expresses, to the rising generation around him. Are they sentiments and language which are likely to inspire our children with the love of union, to enlarge their patriotism, or to teach them, and to make them feel that their destiny has made them common citizens of one grand and glorious Republic? A principal object in his late political movements, the gentleman himself tells us, was to unite the entire South; and against whom or what does he wish to unite the entire South? Is not this the very essence of local feeling and local regard? Is it not the acknowledgment of a wish and object to create political strength by uniting political opinions geographically? Finally, the honorable member declares that he shall now march off under the banner of State rights. March off from whom? March off from what?

We have been contending for great principles. We have been struggling to maintain the liberty and to restore the prosperity of our country. We have made these struggles here in the national councils, with the old flag—the true American flag, the eagle and the stars and stripes—waving over the chamber in which we sit. He now tells us, however, that he marches off under the State-rights banner. Let him go. I remain. I am where I have ever been, and ever mean to be.”

The honorable Senator from Georgia the other day made a speech that was somewhat remarkable. Among other things, he depicted the overwhelming grief he had at the secession of the Southern States; and when he was called upon by the independent voters of the country of Troup to represent them in the secession convention, he wrote this letter to them as he says: “I will consent to the dissolution of the Union as I would consent to the death of my father, never from choice, only from necessity, and then in sorrow and sadness of heart.”

Well, he was elected on that platform, and he went to the convention, and the convention, as we all know, passed the ordinance of secession. And in the evening of January 19, 1861, he writes to a friend a letter which he quotes himself: “Dear Sir: The deed is done. Georgia this day left the Union. Cannon have been firing and bells tolling. At this moment people are filling the streets

shouting vociferously. A large torchlight procession is moving from house to house and calling out speakers. The resolution declaratory passed on yesterday, and similar scenes were enacted last night. The crowd called loudly for me, but my room was dark, my heart was sad, and my tongue was silent. Whoever may be in fault is not now the question. Whether by the North or by the South or by both, the fact remains: the Union has fallen. The most favored sons of freedom have written a page in history which despots will read to listening subjects for centuries to come to prove that the people are not capable of self-government. How can I think thus and feel otherwise than badly?"

Here is the "ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Georgia and other States united with her under a compact of government entitled the Constitution of the United States." This is the original journal of the Georgia convention; it is a rare book. The literature of that section from some cause is very hard to procure.

"We, the people of the State of Georgia, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, That the ordinance adopted by the people of the State of Georgia in convention on the second day of January, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was assented to, ratified and adopted; and also all

acts and parts of acts by the General Assembly of this State, ratifying and adopting amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded and abrogated. We do further declare and ordain, That the union now subsisting between the State of Georgia and other States, under the name of 'United States of America,' is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Georgia is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State."

That was the ordinance which the Senator from Georgia said to the people of Troup he would consent to, as he would to the death of his father, and the ordinance which the evening after it was passed so filled his heart with sadness that he put out the lights in his room and would not make a speech to a crowd outside serenading him. I have read the yeas and nays on that and what is my unbounded surprise to find that the Senator from Georgia himself voted for the ordinance. Here he is, "Hill, of Troup." I believe I am right in saying that he is the man. There were two or three Hills, all voting for it, but "Hill, of Troup," voted for it, and he cannot say in defence of that vote, that he did it because there was one of those tempestuous and tumultuous rushes of public opinion which bear everything before it, and which no man could resist. We know what that is. It sometimes assumes such positive and

portentous force as to have moblike violence. That was not so in this convention. On the call of the yeas and nays, there were 208 in favor of the ordinance of secession and 89 against it, and in the 89 were Alexander H. Stephens and Herschel V. Johnson, who had that very year run for Vice-President on the Douglas ticket. The Senator from Georgia (Mr. Hill), who would consent to it, just as he would to the death of his father, made up his mind that if two hundred and eight men wanted to murder the old man he would join with them. (Great laughter and applause.) Rather than be in a minority he would join the murderous crowd (laughter) and be a parricide.

Nobody would possibly infer from the speech the honorable Senator made the other day, that he had voted for the ordinance ; and I do not say this with any feeling, because I have none. It is now indeed a most extraordinary thing to find a gentleman from the South who was originally for secession. I do not know who was. I see very pleasant and complimentary biographies of the various Senators on that side, and they were all dragged into secession.

I was referring to the fact that the honorable Senator from Georgia—at the time he rested his eye directly on the Senator from Connecticut, whose pleasant face I love to look into—gave us the assurance on this side, that we were tremendously mistaken in supposing the Republicans had

done anything toward saving the Union ; it was the Democrats that had saved it, the Northern Democrats. Well, I said, if that be so, Mr. Lincoln was the victim of a prodigious delusion. Mr. Lincoln did not think so. It happened under the authority of a military officer who now graces this body with his presence, the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Burnside), that Mr. Vallandigham was arrested. His release was sought by a committee of a great convention of the Democrats of Ohio. They had a very notable interview, and a very notable correspondence with Mr. Lincoln, and I beg after the lapse of fifteen or sixteen years to refer to that correspondence. I will read an extract, the moral of which will explain itself: "At the same time" (says Mr. Lincoln) "your nominee for Governor, in whose behalf you appeal, is known to you and to the world to declare against the use of an army to suppress the rebellion. Your own attitude, therefore, encourages desertion, resistance to the draft, and the like, because it teaches those who incline to desert and to escape the draft, to believe it is your purpose to protect them, and to hope that you will become strong enough to do so. After a short personal intercourse with you, gentlemen of the committee, I cannot say I think you desire this effect to follow your attitude ; but I assure you that both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light."

Mr Lincoln distinctly understood how the South regarded it. "Both friends and enemies of the Union look upon it in this light. It is a substantial hope, and by consequence a real strength to the enemy. It is a false hope, and one which you would willingly dispel. I will make the way exceedingly easy. I send you duplicates of this letter in order that you, or a majority, may, if you choose, indorse your names upon one of them, and return it thus indorsed to me, with the understanding that those signing are thereby committed to the following propositions, and to nothing else."

Now, mark you, he was addressing a committee that represented the Democratic party of Ohio, speaking for the whole party. Mr. Lincoln says—I want you to commit yourself just to this, gentlemen, nothing else: "1. That there is now a rebellion in the United States, the object and tendency of which is to destroy the National Union; and that in your opinion, an army and navy are constitutional means for suppressing that rebellion; 2. That no one will do anything which, in his own judgment, will tend to hinder the increase or favor the decrease or lessen the efficiency of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress that rebellion; and 3. That each of you will, in his sphere, do all he can to have the officers, soldiers and seamen of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise well provided

for and supported. And with the further understanding that, upon receiving the letter and names thus indorsed, I will cause them to be published, which publication shall be, within itself, a revocation of the order in relation to Mr. Vallandigham."

And this party, this Northern Democratic party that fought out the rebellion and restored the Union, would not put their names to these propositions. These representatives of a State convention that spoke for the entire party would not acknowledge that there was a rebellion, would not acknowledge that an army and navy could be used to suppress it, would not acknowledge that they would do anything whatever to aid in paying or feeding or clothing or supporting that army. So Mr. Lincoln has given them, in another letter on the same subject, a letter addressed to Mr. Corning, of New York, a little advice, applicable to both—advice which I think will live for its patriotism and eloquence almost as long as his Gettysburg speech. He wrote to Mr. Corning : "Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier-boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a

father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier-boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that, in such a case, to silence the agitator and to save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy."

That is what he did. He sent a good many of the Democratic agitators to Fort Lafayette and saved the boys.

Mr. President, I do not think that the evil that has been done to this country, by publications like the one I referred to from Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, has yet been measured. I do not think the evil that has been done to the Southern country by the school-books in the hands of their children has been measured. Many of the books put into the hands of the rising generation of the South are tinctured all through with prejudice and misrepresentation and with a spirit of hatred.

We are accused by our friends on the opposite side of the chamber of stirring up strife and generating hatred. I do not believe it would be possible to find in all the literature of the North for the schools and for the young a solitary paragraph intended or calculated to arouse hatred or suggest unpatriotic feelings toward any portion of the

Union. A large portion of the South has been furnished with special school-books calculated for the meridian, with the facts appended to suit that particular locality. It was said that for two generations a large portion of the English people believed that the American colonies had never achieved their independence but had been kicked off as a useless appendage to the British Empire, and that they were glad to be rid of us. There is a large number of school-children in the South who are educated with radically wrong notions and radically erroneous facts. I saw an arithmetic that was filled with examples—think of putting politics into arithmetic—such as this: If ten cowardly Yankees had so many miles the start, and five brave Confederates were following them, the first going at so many miles an hour, and the others following at so many miles an hour, how long before the Yankees would be overtaken? Now think of putting that deliberately in a school-book and having school histories made up on that basis for children. I have here from a gentleman who, I believe, is a man of high position, an extract which is so pertinent that I desire to read it. It is from an address before the literary societies of the Virginia University, by Mr. John S. Preston, a gentleman of distinction, I believe, in the State of South Carolina. I want to read this merely to put it on record to show the pabulum on which the Southern mind feeds: "The Mayflower freight under

the laws of England was heresy and crime. The Jamestown emigrant was an English freeman, loyal to his country and his God, with England's honor in his heart and English piety in his soul, and carrying in his right hand the charters, usages and the laws which were achieving the regeneration of England. * * These two people spoke the same language, and nominally read the same Bible ; but like the offspring of the Syrian princes, they were two manner of people, and they could not coalesce or commune. Their feud began beyond the broad Atlantic, and has never ceased on its Western shores. Not space, or time, or the convenience of any human law, or the power of any human arm, can reconcile institutions for the turbulent fanatic of Plymouth Rock and the God-fearing Christian of Jamestown. You may assign them to the closest territorial proximity, with all the forms, modes and shows of civilization ; but you can never cement them into the bonds of brotherhood. Great Nature, in her supremest law, forbids it. Territorial localization drove them to a hollow and unnatural armistice in effecting their segregation from England—the one for the lucre of traffic, the other to obtain a more perfect law of liberty ; the one to destroy foreign tea, the other to drive out foreign tyrants ; the one to offer thanksgiving for the fruit of the earth, the other to celebrate the gift of grace by the birth of Christ."

I have here also a speech delivered by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, the junior Senator from that State (Mr. Hampton), before the Historical Society, I believe, of the South, and this has arrested my attention. Of course, I read it in no spirit of captious or personal criticism, but as a great public document; and if what I read means anything, it means a great deal:—

“LESSONS FROM HISTORY.—These are the lessons our children should learn from their mothers. Nor are these the only ones which should be inculcated, for the pages of history furnish many which should not be overlooked. These teach, in the clearest and most emphatic manner, that there is always hope for a people who cherish the spirit of freedom, who will not tamely give up their rights, and who amid all the changes of time, the trials of adversity, remain steadfast to their convictions that liberty is their birthright.

“THE SOUTH COMPARED TO PRUSSIA AND THE NORTH TO FRANCE.—When Napoleon, in that wonderful campaign of Jena, struck down in a few weeks the whole military strength of Prussia, destroyed that army with which the great Frederick had held at bay the combined forces of Europe, and crushed out, apparently forever, the liberties, seemingly the very existence of that great State, but one hope of her disenthralment and regeneration was left her—the unconquered

and unconquerable patriotism of her sons. As far as human foresight could penetrate the future, this hope appeared but a vain and delusive one ; yet only a few years passed before her troops turned the scale of victory of Waterloo, and the treaty of Paris atoned in part for the mortification of that of Tilsit. She educated her children by a system which made them good citizens in peace and formidable soldiers in war ; she kindled and kept alive the sacred fire of patriotism ; she woke the slumbering spirit of the Fatherland ; and what has been the result of this self-devotion of a whole people for half a century ? Single-handed, she has just met her old antagonist. The shame of her defeats of yore has been wiped out by glorious victories ; the contributions extorted from her have been more than repaid ; her insults have been avenged, and her victorious eagles, sweeping over the broken lilies of her enemy, waved in triumph from the walls of conquered Paris, while she dictated peace to prostrate and humble France. Is not the moral to be drawn from this noble dedication of a people to the interests and honor of their country worth remembering ? Hungary, in her recent struggle to throw off the yoke of Austria, was crushed to the earth, and yet to-day the Hungarians, as citizens of Austria, exercise a controlling power in that great empire. ”

If the Senator speaks of a revival of a power that was once conquered, to be victorious at

another Waterloo, with a crowning peace in Paris to atone for the humiliation of Tilsit—if that means anything by analogy at all, it has a deep and far-reaching significance.

MR. HAMPTON:

“Peace hath her victories
No less renown’d than war.”

MR. BLAINE.—But peace does not celebrate her victories on the plains of Waterloo. That is where war celebrates its triumphs. Peace does not celebrate itself by great armed hosts that are employed and marshalled for avenging result, to which the honorable Senator called attention. That is not the language of peace, and without the slightest intention to say anything discourteous, I say it is mere rhetoric—I leave out the adjective—it is mere rhetoric, or it is a prodigious menace. It is the one or the other.

As to the pending bill, I need only to say that the laws proposed to be repealed are precisely the kind which Mr. Webster alluded to when he addressed Mr. Calhoun; laws that have received the sanction of Congress and been for years on the statute book. They are there properly. They have secured justice; they have assured fair and equal elections; they ought to be upheld; and to this hour not one solitary reason has been shown for their repeal, with the single exception of a desire to grasp partisan power. It all moves in one direction. Every step has been taken since the

Democratic party got into power in the House and in the Senate in one direction, and that direction has been to the striking down of the Federal power and the exaltation of the State power. This measure is but one. Others have gone before it; others are to follow it. What may be their fate I do not know. We on this side will resist by every constitutional means, and you on that side, despite the threats of the Senator from Connecticut, will be obliged to submit in the end, and the power of this Government will not be put down by a threat; it will not be put down by a combination; it will not be put down by a political party. It was not put down by a rebellion. It can meet another, either in the form of organized resistance in withholding supplies or in the more serious form which the language of the Senator from South Carolina seemed to foreshadow.

CHAPTER X.

1876 AND 1880.

Interest in the Political Contest of the Centennial Year—The Rival Republican Candidates—Mr. Blaine's Prostration—Presentation of His Name at the Cincinnati Convention—Colonel Ingersoll's Speech—"The Plumed Knight"—Nomination of Governor Hayes—The Convention of 1880—The Third Term Question—Steadfastness of the Grant and Blaine Forces—A Long Deadlock—The Final Compromise on Garfield.

There is no need of dwelling in detail here upon the extraordinary interest that invested the Presidential campaign of 1876 and the causes thereof. It must all be perfectly clear to every reader of the history of those times. It was really the first serious contest since the advent of the Republican party to power, immediately before the War of the Rebellion. The re-nomination of Lincoln in 1864 was a matter of course, and his re-election was almost equally so. In 1868 there was only one possible candidate, Grant; and his re-nomination and re-election in 1872 were, despite a considerable revolt within the party, a foregone conclusion.

Now, however, there was no one dominant candidate in the Republican party. A third term for Grant was out of the question, and there was a general feeling that the next President would best be chosen from civil rather than from military life. Moreover, the Republican candidate would not

have such an easy campaign and such a sure victory as Grant had enjoyed. The revolt of 1872 had materially weakened the party, in numbers and discipline. In the South the former Rebels had regained political power and were, by various extra-legal means, making their States surely Democratic. The financial distress of 1873 had affected the whole nation, and naturally inspired many people with an idea that a change in the politics of the National Administration would be a good thing. Various departmental scandals at Washington had brought discredit upon the party in power. The great victories of the Democrats in the Congressional elections of 1874 had encouraged the hope that they would win the Presidency in 1876; especially should they nominate—as they did—Mr. Tilden, who, as Governor of New York, had won national fame and favor as a reformer and a wise statesman. It was evident, therefore, that the battle would be almost unprecedentedly hot and close, and it was most desirable to put forward the very strongest candidate that could be found.

The foremost candidate for the nomination was unquestionably Mr. Blaine. There was no man in the party better known or more admired than he. His distinguished services in the House of Representatives had placed him in the foremost rank of statesmen and of party leaders. His vigorous speeches, of recent date, upholding the

sovereignty of the Nation against the attacks of the ex-Rebels in Congress, had greatly endeared him to the North, already anxious over the returning power of the Southern Democrats. Long before the Convention opened, it was evident to all well-informed observers that he would have by far the strongest following in that body. He represented civil, not military, life ; and while generally a steadfast supporter of the Republican Administration, he was by no means so closely identified with its interests as to share in the odium of its various scandals. For this reason he was held by a very considerable portion of the party to be the strongest candidate that could be chosen.

His chief rival was Roscoe Conkling, of New York, the leader of the Republican party in the National Senate. This brilliant and eloquent statesman was the most intimate friend of Grant, and had as his support the "Administration wing" of the party. At the same time his austere virtue held him free from any suspicion of complicity in the jobbery that prevailed in some of the departments at Washington. His character was spotless, his services to the State were distinguished, his abilities were of the highest order, and he was one of the most astute and successful of party leaders.

Other conspicuous candidates were Senator Morton, the famous "War Governor" of Indiana ; Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, who had

achieved an enviable record as Secretary of the Treasury; Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, who had also a fine record of military service; Governor Jewell, of Connecticut, who had served the Nation in various important offices, at home and abroad; and Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, who had served with distinction in the war, and who had won a splendid victory at the polls in Ohio, being elected Governor on an "honest money" platform, against the "fiat money" craze which was then raging in that State with especial virulence.

The "Mulligan letters" affair, already recorded in this volume, had been threshed out in Congress and in the newspaper press of the country, just before the meeting of the Convention. It is not likely that it had much effect upon the action of the latter body. Mr. Blaine had splendidly vindicated himself and thrown his enemies into dire confusion. There was, therefore, no reason for the alienation of any of his supporters, nor does it appear that any of them were alienated. On the contrary, there was reason for regarding him with sympathy and admiration; and doubtless those feelings toward him were considerably increased. Yet such considerations were not greatly calculated to influence votes in the Convention.

On the very eve of the gathering at Cincinnati, however, another event occurred of much more

grave importance than the attacks of political foes. For many weeks Mr. Blaine had been exceedingly busy. He had been busy with his work as a Representative in Congress—one of the most active and industrious men in the House. He had been busy repelling the assaults of those who strove to defame him and to effect his political destruction. He had been busy, too, with the furtherance of his own ambition, that most exalted and most laudable ambition of American citizenship, to be chosen by the free suffrages of the Nation to be its Chief Executive. Mr. Blaine doubtless at this time, as at other times since, earnestly desired to become President. For that desire, no apologies need ever to be made. The man who seeks such office basely and by unworthy means, deserves only the uttermost condemnation. But the man who, like Mr. Blaine, seeks it by making himself worthy of it, by cherishing high character and achieving noble deeds for the public weal, is in even that very ambition a most admirable example and pattern for the moulding of American citizenship.

But these manifold activities and anxieties told seriously upon Mr. Blaine's physical condition. More, perhaps, than he was aware, his nerves were strained, his brain wearied, his constitution weakened in all its vital energies. At the middle of June the weather became intensely hot. Sunday, the 11th, was a particularly oppressive day, and the

streets of Washington were like the mouths of a furnace. That day, when the sun was approaching his meridian fervor, Mr. Blaine set out for church, accompanied by four ladies of his family. The distance was about half a mile. As they walked along, the ladies, under their sun umbrellas, complained much of the heat; but Mr. Blaine, not thus protected, scarcely seemed to notice it. He was apparently in perfect health, and certainly in splendid spirits. The church which they attended was Dr. Rankin's, a Congregational church, at Tenth and D streets. Just as the party reached the church door, Mr. Blaine stopped suddenly, and pressed a handkerchief upon his eyes. Mrs. Blaine laughingly asked him what was the matter, if he had got some dust in his eyes.

"No," he said, gasping for breath, "but I—I think I am sunstruck. Oh, my head!"

With that he sunk down upon the church steps, insensible. Mrs. Blaine supported his head in her arms, while their little daughter Hattie, five years old, ran into the church and called some friends to their assistance. A passing omnibus was hailed, and the prostrate man was lifted into it and carried to his home. On being carried into the house he revived sufficiently to say, "Lay me on the floor." He was accordingly placed upon the parlor floor, with a pillow beneath his head, and a little later a bed was arranged in that room and he was laid upon it.

Thus he lay, from eleven o'clock in the morning until a quarter past four in the afternoon, speechless and almost lifeless. For the first two hours he was apparently insensible ; his eyes wide open but expressionless and immovable, his limbs limp but motionless, and only a weak breathing to indicate the presence of life. Gradually, however, intelligence returned to his eyes, and it was evident that consciousness had returned. Now and then he groaned slightly, and his eyelids moved. He remained speechless, however, and made no response to any questions put to him by his attendants. Late in the afternoon Mrs. Blaine asked him earnestly, "James, do you not know me?" and to her delight he uttered her name in reply. Presently he asked, "What is it?" and then, as if only half conscious, "Where am I?" All the evening he lay, conscious but motionless ; and at ten o'clock fell asleep. During Monday he continued to improve, and on Tuesday was able to sit up and read and write. That evening he wrote with his own hand this despatch to his friend the Hon. Eugene Hale, at Cincinnati :

"EUGENE HALE:—I am entirely convalescent, suffering only from physical weakness. Impress upon my friends the great depth of gratitude I feel for the unparalleled steadfastness with which they have adhered to me in my hour of trial.
J. G. BLAINE."

No description can do justice to the excitement that prevailed in Washington when the news of Mr. Blaine's prostration became known. The fall

of the President himself could scarcely have created a greater sensation. All Sunday afternoon and evening crowds of thousands of people gathered about his house, waiting for tidings from his bedside. At the hotels and clubs and wherever people met, there was but one topic of conversation. All sorts of rumors were extant: that he was dying, or dead; that he was hopelessly paralyzed; that his mind was lost and could never be regained.

In Cincinnati, too, the interest was equally great. Already most of the delegates were there, ready for the Convention which was to open on Wednesday. When news of Mr. Blaine's prostration was received, his supporters and friends were stricken with consternation. It seemed a death-blow to his candidacy. Even when it was known that he was rapidly recovering, his opponents did not cease to make malevolent use of the incident. They argued that his physical health was probably much impaired, so that he could not stand the strain of a Presidential campaign; even that his mind was permanently affected, and that he would never display again that vigor and activity of intellect that had made him a giant in debate. These considerations were pressed home to his supporters unceasingly, and still more persistently to those uncommitted delegates who were likely to be won over to his side. How little effect these arguments had, may be seen in the

result of the balloting in the Convention. Before the "Mulligan letters" had been brought out, and before his illness, it was estimated that he would have 286 votes on the first ballot. He actually received 285, and on the second, immediately afterward, 296.

The Convention met on Wednesday, June 14th, with the Hon. Edward McPherson as presiding officer. On Thursday the Declaration of Principles was adopted, and the candidates were placed formally in nomination. The roll of States was called, alphabetically, and each named its choice. Connecticut put forward Marshall Jewell; Indiana, Oliver P. Morton. Kentucky's choice, Benjamin H. Bristow, was eloquently introduced by George William Curtis, of New York. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was named by Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois. New York nominated Roscoe Conkling; Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes; and Pennsylvania, John F. Hartranft.

The speech of Colonel Ingersoll, nominating Mr. Blaine, was singularly effective and inspiring. One phrase in it, especially, has become historic, and has fixed upon Mr. Blaine a popular title, by which he will ever be known—"the Plumed Knight." The speaker immediately preceding Colonel Ingersoll was from Massachusetts, and spoke in favor of Bristow, dwelling upon the confidence which the people of the Old Bay State had in his ability, integrity and loyalty. While those words

were yet echoing in the ears of the Convention, Colonel Ingersoll arose, and spoke as follows :

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow ; so am I ; but if any man nominated by this Convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this Convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

"The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman ; they demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people ; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. (Applause.)

"They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives

of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States ; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people ; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar ; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor ; one who knows enough to know that all the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it. (Applause.)

“The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together ; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields ; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels ; hand in hand past the open furnace doors ; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil. This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political Convention. (Applause.)

“The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen at home and abroad ; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors, is a

disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is as spotless as a star ; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine. (Great applause.)

“ Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past, and prophetic of her future ; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius ; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag—such a man is James G. Blaine. (Applause.)

“ For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

“ This is a grand year—a year filled with recollections of the Revolution ; filled with the proud and tender memories of the past ; with the sacred legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm ; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field ; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason

the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion ; for this man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat. (Applause.)

“Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now, is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. (Applause.)

“James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

“Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth ; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters ; in the name of all her soldiers living ; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country



BLAINE RETIRING FROM THE SENATE.

that prince of parliamentarians—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.”

The next day, Friday, came the balloting. There were in all 756 votes, and 379 were necessary to make a choice. The first ballot was chiefly complimentary in character. It showed the initial strength of the various candidates, however, and gave some indication of the combinations that might be made to secure to one of them a majority of all the votes. On that first ballot Mr. Blaine easily led all competitors. He had 285 votes. Morton had 125, Bristow 113, Conkling 99, Hayes 61, Hartranft 58, Jewell 11, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, 3. The second ballot differed little from the first. Jewell was withdrawn and his 11 votes cast for Blaine, giving him 296. Conkling fell from 99 to 93, and Morton from 125 to 120. These votes went to swell Hayes’s following from 61 to 64, Bristow’s from 113 to 114, and Hartranft’s from 58 to 63; and one was cast for Elihu B. Washburne.

The third ballot began amid intense anxiety. Important changes were expected. But the vote proceeded almost without change, only wavering a little, here and there. Hayes gained three, reaching 67; and Blaine lost three, falling to 293, to the deep disappointment of his friends. Morton lost seven, falling to 113, and Bristow gained seven, reaching 121. Conkling lost three, falling

to 90. Hartranft gained five, reaching 68; and Wheeler got two and Washburne one. The Convention seemed no nearer a choice than at first. Mr. Blaine was 90 votes away from the nomination, and the New York and Pennsylvania delegations, which seemed to be masters of the situation, showed no sign of abandoning the candidates for whom they were casting merely complimentary votes. Pennsylvania was voting for General Hartranft, whom no one expected to see chosen, and all the New York delegates, except one, were holding out steadily for Senator Conkling, who was a strong and implacable opponent of Mr. Blaine.

The fourth ballot was taken, and it also showed little change. Mr. Blaine's friends stood by him firmly. He lost one vote in Alabama, one in Iowa, one in Texas, one in Vermont, and two in Michigan. But elsewhere he gained a number of votes, so that his net loss on this ballot was only one, his total vote standing at 292. It looked as if this deadlock might continue all day, and indeed for many days. But the opponents of Mr. Blaine were uneasy. His great strength in the Convention, and the steadfastness of his supporters, alarmed them. They began planning to form some compromise and combination to defeat him. Many such schemes had already been broached, but nothing had yet come of them. Governor Hayes, of Ohio, had been the central figure of

most of them, and now, on the fifth ballot, he was definitely chosen as the candidate upon whom an attempt would be made to unite the elements hostile to Mr. Blaine. It was, of course, a delicate and difficult task to transfer votes from one candidate to another. The various delegations had come to the Convention pledged or instructed to vote for such or such a candidate. As soon as it was decided to annul those pledges, the delegates would be free to follow their own individual choice, and it was not unlikely that there would be a considerable stampede in the direction of Mr. Blaine.

The plan was executed, however, with singular tact and entire success. The venerable Governor Howard, of Michigan, was chosen to lead the movement. On the fifth ballot he hobbled on his crutches to the front of the hall and said, in a voice tremulous both with age and emotion, that there was one candidate before the Convention who had already defeated three Democratic aspirants for the Presidency—Allen G. Thurman, George H. Pendleton and William Allen—and who seemed to have a habit of defeating distinguished Democrats. It would be the part of wisdom to give him an opportunity once more to defeat whatever candidate the Democrats might place in nomination for the Presidency. Michigan, therefore, cast her whole 22 votes solidly for Rutherford B. Hayes. This announcement, although not unexpected, came upon the Convention

with the sudden energy of an electric shock. A tremendous tidal wave of enthusiastic applause swept over the entire assemblage again and again. For a moment it looked as though there would be a general stampede toward Hayes. But Mr. Blaine's supporters stood firm as ever. The roll call proceeded. The next State, Minnesota, cast her vote, as before, for Mr. Blaine, and Missouri, coming next, gave him 20 votes, where before she had only given him 18. But then North Carolina abandoned him and voted for Hayes. So it went on to the end of the fifth ballot. Mr. Blaine was not yet nominated, but he was still the leader among the candidates. A rival was coming forward, however, at a dangerous rate. On this ballot Mr. Blaine had 286 votes. Mr. Bristow stood second with 114. Governor Hayes had risen to 104. Senator Morton had 95, Senator Conkling 82, and General Hartranft 69.

The sixth ballot was ordered. Down to the point where North Carolina was reached on the roll call there was no material change from the former ballot. But the Tar Heel State, which had deserted Mr. Blaine on the fifth ballot, now came back to him solidly with 12 votes, and a mighty burst of cheering rent the air. Presently Pennsylvania was reached, and for the first time its delegation was divided. Fourteen of its votes were announced for Mr. Blaine, and there was another scene of great enthusiasm among his

supporters. South Carolina also swung into line for him, and he now had 308 votes. Governor Hayes, meantime, had gained only 9 votes, standing now at 113, while Bristow had fallen to 111.

Mr. Blaine's supporters were now confident and jubilant. His opponents saw that something must be done immediately if he was to be defeated. For a space the Convention became a disorganized mob, a dozen men speaking at once and the various leaders earnestly and desperately consulting together. Then the Indiana delegation marched out of the hall for consultation. The New York delegation followed, and then Pennsylvania went too. It was evident that these three great bodies would decide the result on the next ballot. And so they did. The seventh ballot was called. The names of Morton, Conkling and Hartranft were withdrawn, and the supporters of their candidates went over in a body to Governor Hayes. The bulk of Mr. Bristow's supporters also abandoned him, many of them going to Mr. Blaine and the rest to Governor Hayes. On the seventh ballot 756 votes were cast, and 379 were necessary to a choice. Governor Hayes received 384, Mr. Blaine 351, and Mr. Bristow 21. Thus Mr. Blaine was defeated and Governor Hayes was nominated as the candidate of the Republican party for President in the centennial year of the Union. But Mr. Blaine had the consolation of knowing that his friends

had supported him with a fervent loyalty such as few candidates had ever before enjoyed.

The record of Mr. Blaine's activities during the four years that followed is given elsewhere. As the administration of President Hayes approached its close it became evident that Mr. Blaine would again be a leading candidate for the Republican nomination. His popularity in the party and throughout the Nation had been steadily increasing, and his support was stronger and more enthusiastic than before. He entered the Convention of 1880, at Chicago, with almost exactly the same number of supporters that had striven in his behalf so earnestly in 1876. The opposition to him was now more united and better organized than before. Its leader was Senator Conkling, and its candidate was General Grant, who was now put forward for a third term in the White House. At the opening of the Convention, on June 2d, there was a determined struggle over what was known as the "unit rule." The opponents of Mr. Blaine contended that each State's vote should be cast without division for the candidate favored by the majority of the delegation. Mr. Blaine's supporters contended that the vote of a delegation might be divided according to the individual preferences of its members. Finally General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, was made chairman of the Committee on rules, and in the code which he reported to the Convention the

unit rule was disregarded, thus leaving the delegates free to vote according to their individual preferences. This was properly regarded as a victory for the Blaine forces and a defeat for the supporters of Grant.

On the roll call of States for nomination of candidates the name of Mr. Blaine was presented, in behalf of the State of Maine, by James F. Joy, chairman of the Michigan delegation. General Grant was nominated by Senator Conkling, and the other candidates named were John Sherman, E. B. Washburne, George F. Edmunds and William Windom.

On the first ballot 755 votes were cast, and 378 were necessary to a choice. General Grant received 304, Mr. Blaine 284, John Sherman 93, E. B. Washburne 31, George F. Edmunds 34, and William Windom 10. Thenceforward to the 28th ballot there was scarcely any change in the voting. The vote for Grant varied from 302 in the 25th ballot to 309 in the 15th. The vote for Mr. Blaine was equally steady, ranging from 275 in the 22d and 23d ballots to 285 in the 12th and 13th. During the 28 ballots John Sherman's vote ranged from 88 to 97, E. B. Washburne's from 31 to 36, George F. Edmunds's from 31 to 34, and William Windom's remained fixedly at 10. On almost every ballot one or two votes were cast for James A. Garfield. On three ballots, one vote was cast for Benjamin Harrison;

on three, one for Rutherford B. Hayes ; on one, one for George W. McCreary ; on one, one for Edmund T. Davis ; and on four, one for John F. Hartranft. It was such a deadlock as had not before been seen in a Republican Convention.

On the 29th ballot there was a slight but insignificant change, the vote of Mr. Edmunds falling to 12 and that of Mr. Windom to 7, and that of Mr. Sherman rising to 116. The votes for Grant and Blaine remained as before. The 30th ballot was almost a duplicate of the 29th, but one scattering vote was cast for General Philip H. Sheridan. The 31st ballot showed no material change, but one vote was cast for Roscoe Conkling. The 32d ballot showed no sign of a break in the deadlock, the forces of the two great rivals standing unbroken, and the minor bodies, with whom lay the balance of power, not yet indicating in what direction they would finally cast their strength. The 33d ballot showed 309 votes for Grant, 276 for Blaine, 100 for Sherman, 44 for Washburne, 11 for Edmunds, 4 for Windom, and 1 for Garfield.

All efforts to induce the minor delegations to forsake their candidates in favor of either Grant or Blaine were fruitless. It therefore became evident that if the deadlock was ever to be broken, one of the great bodies must forsake its candidate and accept a compromise. This the supporters of Grant positively refused to do,

They expressed their determination of standing together and voting together for the candidate of their choice as long as the Convention remained in existence. The Blaine men were at least equally devoted to their candidate, but took a more reasonable view of the situation. When they became convinced that Mr. Blaine's nomination was impossible they began to look about for the next best candidate.

In the 34th ballot the first really significant break occurred. Washburne's vote fell from 44 to 30, and Garfield's forged ahead from 1 to 17. Grant's remained at 312, and Blaine's at 275. Sherman's was 107. Garfield had been sent to the Convention as the leader of the Sherman forces, and when delegates began to vote for him he protested that he was not a candidate. This protestation, however, did not restrain the delegates from voting for him, but seemed actually to encourage them to do so. His reluctance to receive the nomination was taken as a proof of his fitness for it. The supporters of Mr. Blaine now decided that it would be best, indeed that it was necessary, to abandon their loved and honored candidate. Accordingly, on the 35th ballot, the majority of them did so, casting their votes for Garfield, who thus received 250 votes, while Blaine's fell to 57, Sherman's to 99, Washburne's to 23, Edmunds's to 11, and Windom's to 3. The Grant contingent stood firm as ever, and even

gained a few recruits, casting on this ballot 313 votes for their candidate. But the compromise was now effected, and nothing could hinder its success. The roll call for the 36th ballot began. Delegation after delegation abandoned Sherman and Washburne and Edmunds and Windom, and joined the irresistible forces of Garfield. Grant's supporters remained unmoved to the end, unwilling to yield and unable to attract a sufficient number of recruits to give them the victory. This was the decisive and final ballot. 755 votes were cast, and 378 were necessary to a choice. James A. Garfield received 399, General Grant 306, Mr. Blaine 42, Mr. Washburne 5, and Mr. Sherman 3.

Thus this unexampled contest was ended. Mr. Blaine was again defeated. But he had once more received a most gratifying proof of the loyalty of his friends and of his personal popularity in the party, and he had, moreover, the satisfaction of knowing that the vote of his friends had decided the choice of the Convention in favor of one of his own most intimate and trusted friends. There is no doubt that Mr. Blaine was better pleased with the nomination of Garfield than he would have been with the choice of any other candidate beside himself. And he immediately lent all the power of his personal popularity and his unsurpassed genius to the aid of the Garfield campaign, which, in November following, was crowned with success at the polls.

CHAPTER XI.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Appointment to the Chief Portfolio in the Garfield Cabinet—Mr. Blaine's Letter of Acceptance—Salient Features of his Foreign Policy—Controversy with England over the Neutrality of the Panama Canal—Death of Garfield and Accession of President Arthur—The Invitation to the American Republics to Hold a Peace Congress—Object of these Negotiations—Mr. Blaine's Retirement from Office—Abandonment of His Plans by His Successor—Mr. Blaine's Vindication of His Policy.

When Mr. Blaine's friend Garfield was chosen President in November, 1880, speculation began to arise as to who would compose his Cabinet. It was, however, universally expected that the office of Secretary of State therein would be filled by Mr. Blaine. This was also Garfield's intention. Very soon after the election he wrote to Mr. Blaine, who was then in the Senate, asking to see him as soon as possible. They met on November 26th, and Garfield promptly offered Mr. Blaine the appointment of Secretary of State. Mr. Blaine asked time for consideration, and some weeks afterwards, after consultation with his friends, wrote to the President-elect the following letter, accepting the offer :

“ WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

“ *My Dear Garfield* :—Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three

weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

"I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings and to make up my mind, definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

"It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government.

"I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

"In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

"To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great National Conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

"It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend.

"Always faithfully yours,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

Mr. Blaine entered upon the duties of this important office immediately after the inauguration of the President in March, 1881. In this new sphere of duty he distinguished himself by the aggressive earnestness with which he strove to uphold and to promote American interests everywhere. It was his aim to maintain the dignity of the American name and the honor of the American flag in every part of the globe; to give most ample protection to American citizens, wherever they might be in foreign parts; to extend the commercial interests of the country as greatly as possible; and especially to encourage a closer relationship and greater unity of interests between the various nations of Central and South America and the United States. It was his aim to exert the influence of the United States so as to put an end to the frequent wars and revolutions in those Southern Republics, and at the same time to establish closer and more extensive trade relations with them. He believed that the United States should exert greater commercial and political influences in South America than England or any European power, and he looked with disfavor and distrust upon the many intrigues and

aggressions in that direction of which various European powers were guilty.

In connection with this subject, a controversy soon arose with England over the neutrality of the proposed Panama Canal. Acting under Mr. Blaine's advice, President Garfield reminded the powers of Europe that the United States had secured exclusive rights in the country through which the canal was to be constructed, and that the proposal of the European powers to guarantee the neutrality of the work would not only be futile but actually offensive to this country. It was necessary that the United States should take the initiative in any such guarantee. In his inaugural address, prepared doubtless after consultation with Mr. Blaine, President Garfield reasserted the doctrine of his predecessor, that it was the right and duty of the United States to maintain such supervision over any such canal as would effectually protect its own interests. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, between the United States and England, made certain provisions for the control of the canal which would practically place it exclusively in England's hand. These clauses Mr. Blaine now unhesitatingly proposed to abrogate. In an elaborate letter on the subject, to Mr. Lowell, the American Minister to England, he stated the American side of the case with perfectly unanswerable logic, and showed himself an easy master of the ablest British diplomats.

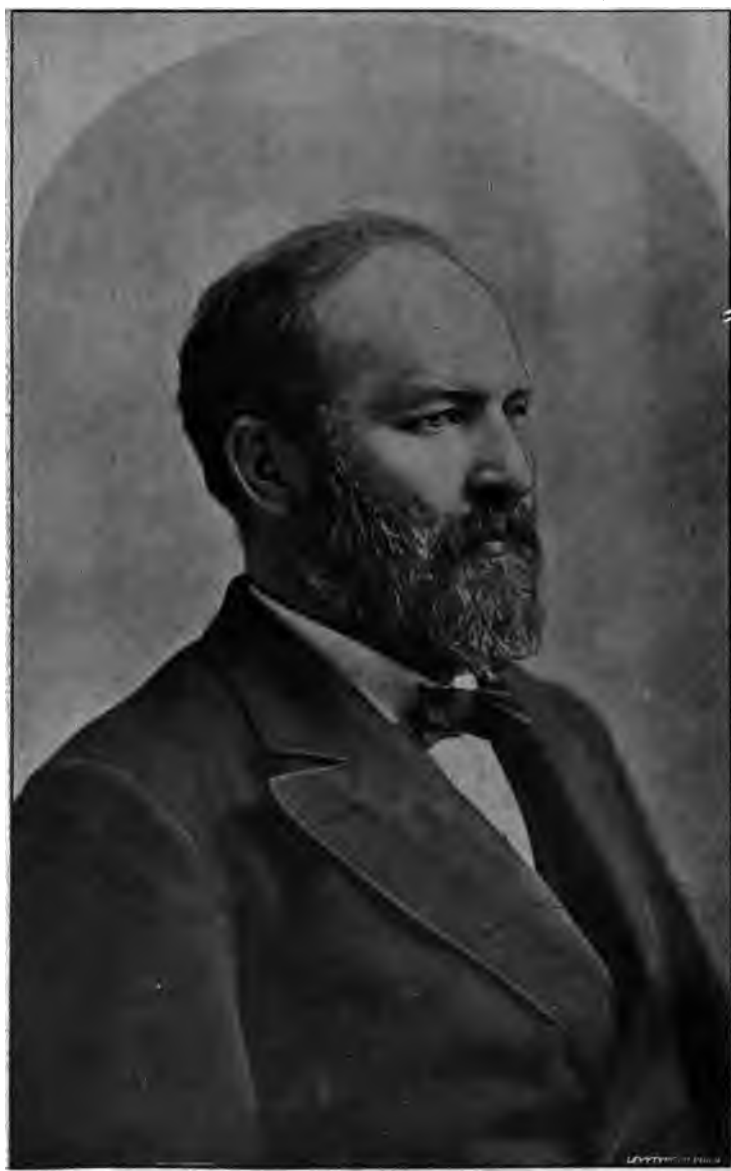
‘This letter,’ said Mr. George William Curtis, in *Harper’s Weekly*,—a critic never noted for partiality toward Mr. Blaine,—‘is a temperate and dignified document, stating our position with blended spirit and courtesy and decision. It is capitally adapted to meet any such proposition as a joint European protectorate, and it is another illustration of the skill and ability with which Mr. Blaine has managed the department confided to him. He has what may be called the American instinct, an essential quality in our Foreign Secretary, yet restrained in its official expression by an equally American tact and good sense.’

Earnest efforts were made by Mr. Blaine to conclude by an honorable peace the deplorable and disastrous war between Chili and Peru. To this end two special envoys, William H. Trescott and Walker Blaine, were sent thither. Before they arrived there, however, Mr. Blaine resigned his office, and his successor, Mr. Frelinghuysen, so altered the policy of the Department as to make their mission fruitless.

Throughout the brief administration of President Garfield, Mr. Blaine was not only Secretary of State, but also the President’s most trusted adviser and closest personal friend. He was his companion on that fatal morning of July 2, 1881, when the President, on his way to join his family at their summer home, was shot by a wretched madman. Through the weary months of illness

that followed, he was among the most solicitous watchers at Garfield's bedside ; and he was one of the most sincere mourners when, on September 19th, death ended the illustrious sufferer's long struggle. Chester A. Arthur then succeeded to the Presidency, and at his request, Mr. Blaine retained for a time the State portfolio. Differences of opinion gradually arose between them, however, and on December 19, 1881, Mr. Blaine tendered his resignation and retired from the office he had filled with such eminent distinction. He was succeeded by the Hon. Frederick L. Frelinghuysen, formerly United States Senator from New Jersey.

During his two months of service in President Arthur's Cabinet, Mr. Blaine performed the act for which his first term as Secretary of State will be most remembered. This was the inviting of all the nations of Central and South America to a Peace Congress, to be held at Washington. This was in accordance with a plan to which Mr. Blaine and President Garfield had devoted much thought, and on which they had been fully agreed. It was intended to effect that strengthening of amicable relations, and that harmonizing and unification of interests, both commercial and political, which Mr. Blaine so earnestly desired and which were, unquestionably, calculated in the highest degree to promote the welfare of all the nations concerned. The following letter, addressed by



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

Mr. Blaine to the United States Minister to Mexico, shows the tone of the invitation thus extended to the various nations :

“ DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
“ WASHINGTON, November 29, 1881.

“ SIR :—The attitude of the United States with regard to the question of general peace on the American continent is well known through its persistent efforts for years past to avert the evils of warfare, or, the efforts failing, to bring positive conflicts to an end through pacific counsels, or the advocacy of impartial arbitration. This attitude has been consistently maintained, and always with such fairness as to leave no room for the imputing to our Government any motive except the humane and disinterested one of saving the kindred States on the American continent from the burdens of war. The position of the United States as the leading power of the New World might well give to its Government the claim to authoritative utterance for the purpose of quieting discord among its neighbors, with all of whom the most friendly relation exists. Nevertheless, the good offices of this Government are not, and have not, at any time, been tendered with a show of compulsion or dictation, but only as exhibiting the solicitous good-will of a common friend.

“ For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain States of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is, in a large measure, looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator.

“ The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld, and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife, or angry contentions between people whom we regard as brethren.

“ The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good-will and active co-operation of all the States of the Western Hemisphere, both North and South, in the interest of humanity, and for the common weal of nations. He conceives that none of the governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a State war, and especially of war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the chiefs of governments on the continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. And he looks

with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will help to show the broadness of our common humanity, and the strength of the ties which bind us all together as a great and harmonious system of American commonwealths.

"Impressed by these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general congress to be held in the city of Washington on the 24th day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object, that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries oftenest of one blood and speech; or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles, the legacies of exhausted finances, of oppressive debt, of onerous taxation, of ruined cities, of paralyzed industries, of devastated fields, of ruthless conscription, of the slaughter of men, of the grief of the widow and orphan, of embittered resentments that long survive those who provoked them, and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

"The President is especially desirous to have it understood that in putting forth this invitation, the United States does not assume the position of counselling, or attempting through the voice of the congress to counsel, any determinate solution of existing questions which may now divide any of the countries of America. Such questions cannot properly come before the congress. Its mission is higher. It is to provide for the interest of all in the future, not to settle the individual differences of the present. For this reason especially, the President has indicated a day for the assembling of the congress so far in the future as to leave good ground for hope, that by the time named, the present situation on the South Pacific coast will be happily terminated, and that those engaged in the contest may take peaceable part in the discussion and solution of the general question affecting in an equal degree the well-being of all.

"It seems also desirable to disclaim, in advance, any purpose on the part of the United States to prejudice the issues to be presented to the congress. It is far from the intent of this Government to appear before the congress as in any sense the protector of its neighbors, or the predestined and necessary arbitrator of their disputes. The United States will enter into the deliberations of the congress on the same footing with the other powers represented, and with the loyal determination to approach any proposed solution not only in its own interest, but as a single member among many co-ordinate and co-equal States, so far as the influence of this Government may be conciliating, whatever conflicting interests of blood or government

or historical tradition may necessarily come together in response to a call embracing such vast and diverse elements.

"You will present these views to the Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico, enlarging, if need be, in such terms as will readily occur to you, upon the great mission which it is in the power of the proposed congress to accomplish in the interest of humanity, and upon the firm purpose of the United States to maintain a position of the most absolute and impartial friendship toward all. You will thereupon tender to his Excellency, the President of the Mexican Republic, a formal invitation to send two commissioners to the congress, provided with such powers and instructions on behalf of their government as will enable them to consider the questions brought before that body within the limit of submission contemplated by the invitation.

"The United States, as well as the other powers, will in like manner be represented by two commissioners, so that impartiality and equality will be amply secured in the proceedings of the congress.

"In delivering this invitation through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, you will read this despatch to him, and leave with him a copy, intimating that an answer is desired by this Government as promptly as the just consideration of so important a proposition will permit.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

Three weeks after the issuing of this letter Mr. Blaine was succeeded in the State Department by Mr. Frelinghuysen. The latter very materially changed the Government's foreign policy, and, for one thing, annulled the arrangements for the Peace Congress, and revoked the invitations, so that that body did not convene. At this the people of the United States very generally felt much regret. Mr. Blaine regretted it also, on public grounds, and he naturally regarded it as a personal grievance, especially since his political enemies quickly and industriously spread abroad all sorts of false and malicious rumors regarding

his object in summoning the congress. He was charged with a "jingo" policy; with seeking to bully the weaker American powers, and even to compel their annexation to the United States; with trying to embroil the United States in a foreign war; and actually with corrupt motives of personal gain. The baser of these calumnies Mr. Blaine could afford to treat with contempt. But on the higher grounds of public policy he felt presently constrained to vindicate his course by addressing to President Arthur, on January 3, 1882, the following letter:

*"To the President of the United States:—*The suggestion of a congress of all American Nations to assemble in the city of Washington for the purpose of agreeing on such a basis of arbitration for international troubles as would remove all possibility of war on the Western Hemisphere was warmly approved by your predecessor. His assassination July 2d prevented his issuing the invitation to the American States. After your accession to the Presidency I acquainted you with the project, and submitted to you that draft for such an invitation. You received the suggestion with most appreciative consideration, and, after carefully examining the form of invitation, directed it to be sent. It was accordingly despatched in November to the independent Governments of America, North and South, including all, from the Empire of Brazil to the smallest Republic. In a communication addressed by the present Secretary of State, the ninth of last month, to Mr. Trescot, and recently sent to the Senate, I was greatly surprised to find a proposition looking to the annulment of these invitations, and I was still more surprised when I read the reasons assigned. I quote Mr. Frelinghuysen's language: 'The United States is at peace with all nations of the earth, and the President wishes hereafter to determine whether it will conduce to the general peace, which he would cherish and promote, for this Government to enter into negotiations and consultation for the promotion of peace with selected friendly nationalities without extending the line of confidence to other people with whom the United States is on equally friendly terms. If such partial confidence would create jealousy and ill-will, peace, the object sought

by such consultation, would not be promoted. The principles controlling the relations of the Republics of this hemisphere with other nationalities may, on investigation, be found to be so well established that little would be gained at this time by reopening the subject, which is not novel.' If I correctly apprehend the meaning of these words, it is that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a Congress of 'selected nationalities' of American.

"This is certainly a new position for the United States to assume, and one which I earnestly beg you will not permit this Government to occupy. European powers assemble in congress whenever an object seems to them of sufficient importance to justify it. I have never heard of their consulting the Government of the United States in regard to the propriety of their so assembling, nor have I ever known their inviting an American representative to be present, nor would there, in my judgment, be any good reason for their so doing. Two Presidents of the United States in the year 1881 adjudge it to be expedient that American powers should meet in congress for the sole purpose of agreeing upon some basis for arbitration of differences that may arise between them, and for the prevention, as far as possible, of wars in the future. If that movement is now to be arrested for fear it may give offence in Europe, the voluntary humiliation of this Government could not be more complete, unless we should petition European Governments for the privilege of holding the congress.

"I cannot conceive how the United States could be placed in a less enviable position than would be secured by sending in November a cordial invitation to all American Governments to meet in Washington for the sole purpose of concocting measures of peace, and in January recalling the invitation for fear it might create 'jealousy and ill-will' on the part of monarchical Governments in Europe. It would be difficult to devise a more effective mode of making enemies of the American Governments, and it would certainly not add to our prestige in the European world. Nor can I see, Mr. President, how European Governments should feel 'jealousy and ill-will' toward the United States because of an effort on its part to assure lasting peace between the nations of America, unless indeed it be the interest of the European powers that the American nations should at intervals fall into war, and bring reproach on Republican government. But from that very circumstance I see an additional and powerful motive for American Governments to be at peace among themselves. The United States is indeed at peace with all the world, as Mr. Frelinghuysen well says; but there are, and have been, serious troubles between other American Republics. Peru, Chili and Bolivia have been for more than two years engaged in a desperate conflict. It was the fortunate intervention of the United States last spring that averted war between Chili and the Argentine

Republic. Guatemala is at this moment asking the United States to interpose its good offices with Mexico to keep off war.

"These important facts were all communicated in your late message to Congress. It is the existence or menace of these wars that influenced President Garfield, and, as I suppose, influenced yourself, to desire a friendly conference of all nations of America to devise methods of permanent peace and consequent prosperity for all. Shall the United States now turn back, hold aloof, and refuse to exert its great moral power for the advantage of its weaker neighbors? If you have not formally and fully recalled the invitation to a Peace Congress, Mr. President, I beg you to consider well the effect of so doing. The invitation was not mine. It was yours. I performed only the part of Secretary to advise and draft. You spoke in the name of the United States to each of the independent nations of America. To revoke that invitation for any cause would be embarrassing; to revoke it for avowed fear of 'jealousy and ill-will' on the part of European powers would appeal as little to American pride as to American hospitality. Those you have invited may decline, and, having now cause to doubt their welcome, will perhaps do so. This would break up the congress, but it would not touch our dignity. Beyond the philanthropic and Christian ends to be obtained by the American conference, devoted to peace and good-will among men, we might well hope for material advantages as a result of a better understanding and closer friendship with the nations of America. At present the condition of trade between the United States and its American neighbors is unsatisfactory to us, and even deplorable.

"According to the official statistics of our own Treasury Department the balance against us in that trade last year was \$120,000,000—a sum greater than the yearly product of the gold and silver mines in the United States. This vast balance was paid by us in foreign exchange, and a very large proportion of it went to England, where shipments of cotton, provisions, and breadstuffs supplied the money. If anything should change or check the balance in our favor in European trade, our commercial exchanges with Spanish America would drain us of our reserve of gold coin at a rate exceeding \$100,000,000 per annum, and would probably precipitate the suspension of specie-payment in this country. Such a result at home might be worse than a little 'jealousy and ill-will' abroad; I do not say, Mr. President, that the holding of a Peace Congress will necessarily change the currents of trade, but it will bring us into kindly relations with all the American nations; it will promote the reign of peace, and law, and order; it will increase production and consumption and will stimulate the demand for articles which American manufacturers can furnish with profit. It will, at all events, be a friendly and auspicious beginning in the direction of

American influence and American trade in a large field which we have hitherto greatly neglected, and which has been practically monopolized by our commercial rivals in Europe. As Mr. Frelinghuysen's despatch foreshadowing an abandonment of a Peace Congress is being made public by your direction, I deem it a matter of propriety and justice to give this letter to the press. I am, Mr. President, with great respect, your ever obedient servant,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

The ex-Secretary thus set himself entirely right in the minds of all thoughtful and impartial observers, and brought not a little reproach and ridicule upon those who had frustrated his beneficent designs. Frustrated his designs were, however, for the time ; and the pursuance of his policy was postponed until a later date.

To complete the record of Mr. Blaine's first Administration of the State Department, one more incident must be mentioned, not otherwise significant. Taking advantage of the extremities to which Peru was driven in her unequal struggle against the aggressive Chilians, certain speculators sought to press against her various claims for enormous sums, based upon the value of the discovery of the nitrate and guano deposits in that country. As these speculators, or some of them, were American citizens, they sought to urge their demands through the medium of the State Department. Their attorney was a person named Shipherd, who began to treat the United States Government as though it were his partner in the business. So offensive was his tone that Mr. Blaine was prompted, most properly, to disbar

him from further practice before the State Department. This made Shipherd angry, and he demanded of Congress an "investigation," making various charges of corruption against Mr. Blaine. The investigation was held, and Mr. Blaine's enemies tried hard to discredit him, but only succeeded in bringing ridicule upon themselves. Mr. Blaine was amply vindicated, and Shipherd dropped into obscurity and contempt.

Quotation of one more document will close this brief consideration of one of the most interesting periods in the diplomatic history of the United States. It is a review of the foreign policy of the Garfield Administration, written by the man who inspired and directed that policy. It is taken from the pages of a Chicago journal, in which it first appeared :

" AUGUSTA, MAINE, Sept. 1, 1882.

" The foreign policy of President Garfield's Administration had two principal objects in view : First, to bring about peace, and prevent future wars in North and South America ; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States, by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

" To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the

development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be violently interrupted by such wars as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru and Bolivia ; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the Argentine Republic ; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala ; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay ; as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States. Peace is essential to commerce, is the very life of honest trade, is the solid basis of international prosperity ; and yet there is no part of the world where a resort to arms is so prompt as in the Spanish American Republics. Those Republics have grown out of the old Colonial divisions, formed from capricious grants to favorites by Royal charter, and their boundaries are in many cases not clearly defined, and consequently afford the basis of continual disputes, breaking forth too often in open war. To induce the Spanish American States to adopt some peaceful mode of adjusting their frequently recurring contentions was regarded by the late President as one of the most honorable and useful ends to which the diplomacy of the United States could contribute—useful especially to those States

by securing permanent peace within all their borders, and useful to our own country by affording a coveted opportunity for extending its commerce and securing enlarged fields for our products and manufactures.

“Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries to-day, securing a truce between two others to-morrow, it was apparent to the President that a more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war was to cease in the Western Hemisphere. It was evident that certain European powers had in the past been interested in promoting strife between the Spanish American countries, and might be so interested in the future, while the interest of the United States was wholly and always on the side of peace with all our American neighbors, and peace between them all.

“It was therefore the President’s belief that mere incidental and partial adjustments failed to attain the desired end, and that a common agreement of peace, permanent in its character and continental in its extent, should, if possible, be secured. To effect this end it had been resolved, before the fatal shot of July 2d, to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. The date to be assigned was the 15th of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the New England tour, which

the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on November 22d, President Garfield's successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress in the same spirit and scope and with the same limitations and restrictions that had been originally designed.

"As soon as the project was understood in South America it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries, not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence, made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the congress ; but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled, or at least suspended. The subject was afterward referred to Congress in a special message, in which the President ably vindicated his Constitutional right to assemble the Peace Congress, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency of the step before the congress should be allowed to convene. Meanwhile the nations that received the invitations were in an embarrassing situation ; for after they were asked by the President to come, they found that the matter had been reconsidered and referred to another department of the Government. This change was universally accepted as

a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the subject. The good-will and welcome of the invitation would be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and House, in which the question would necessarily become intermixed with personal and party politics, and the project would be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress, more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Conference had closed its labors. The conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States, unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate, or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Peace Conference, as President Arthur so well demonstrated, was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the conference—which would not have exceeded \$10,000—could not, with reason or propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

“The Spanish-American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Congress would afford them. They require external pressure to

keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. Their outbreaks are not only frequent, but are sanguinary and sometimes cruel. The inhabitants of those countries are a brave people, belonging to a race that has always been brave, descended of men that have always been proud. They are of hot temper, quick to take affront, ready to avenge a wrong, whether real or fancied. They are at the same time generous and chivalrous, and though tending for years past to estrangement and alienation from us, they would promptly respond to any advance made by the Great Republic of the North, as they have for two generations termed our Government. The moral influence upon the Spanish-American people of such an international assembly as the Peace Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States, would have proved beneficent and far-reaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent, whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt, might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

"Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress, and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fall within the line of both duty and interest on the part of the United States. Nations, like individuals, often require

the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili are in deplorable need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and, unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evils scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European governments the right of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe doctrine and an unlimited increase of European and monarchical influence on this continent. The late special envoy to Peru and Chili, Mr. Trescot, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his mission had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors—necessarily to the great benefit of the United States. If our Government does not resume its efforts to secure peace in South America, some European government will be forced to perform that friendly office. The United States cannot play between nations the part of the dog in the manger. We must perform the duty of humane intervention ourselves, or give way to foreign governments that are

willing to accept the responsibility of the great trust and secure the enhanced influence and numberless advantages resulting from such a philanthropic and beneficent course.

“A most significant and important result would have followed the assembling of the Peace Congress. A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the States of North and South America, which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection. A movement in the near future, as the legitimate outgrowth of assured peace, would, in all probability, have been a great commercial conference at the city of Mexico or Rio Janeiro, whose deliberations would be directed to a better system of trade on the two continents. To such a conference the Dominion of Canada could properly be asked to send representatives, as that government is allowed by Great Britain a very large liberty in regulating its commercial relations. In the Peace Congress, to be composed of independent governments, the Dominion could not have taken any part, and was consequently not invited. From this trade conference of the two continents, the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages. At present the commercial relations of this country with the Spanish-American countries, both continental and insular, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable—indeed, those relations are absolutely oppressive to the financial

interests of the Government and people of the United States. In our current exchanges, it requires about \$120,000,000 to pay the balance which Spanish America brings against us every year. This amount is 50 per cent. more than the average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not of course go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent to pay European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America—a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

“At this point of the argument the free trader appears and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that if we will abolish protection we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument, the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe. Nevertheless, facts are stubborn and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

speech. The truth remains that the coarser descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural implements of all kinds, doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silverware, plated-ware, wooden-ware, ordinary paper and paper hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window-glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosene, white lead, lead pipe, and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any other part of the world. The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition of those classed as "notions," but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it now does to Spanish America.

"In the trade relations of the world it does not follow that mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or, indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures many articles as cheaply as England—some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of English fabric. And yet Great Britain has almost a monopoly in the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in

a less degree, in the trade of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply. If it be said in answer that England has special trade relations by treaty with Portugal and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States with respect to all the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it, and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it. At present the trade with Spanish America runs so strongly in channels adverse to us, that, besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles, we do not get the profit on our own raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish-American ports after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle-man, who handles it, than it does to the producer of the oil in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe—made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

“As our exports to Spanish America grow less, as European imports constantly grow larger, the balance against us will show an annual increase, and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, cinchona, caoutchouc, cabinet woods, dye woods and other articles, go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish America. If we could send our fabrics, our gold would stay at home and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and even embarrassing. Those countries sell to us very heavily. They buy from us very lightly. And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever have against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us for the whole world in the five most adverse years we ever experienced, was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor and that our chief deficiency arises from our mal-adjusted commercial relations with Spanish America. It follows that if our Spanish-American trade were placed

on a better and more equitable foundation, it would be almost impossible even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

“With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make from Spanish America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire account by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a standing menace of final disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products or fabrics that we sell in Spanish America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market which is insured by keeping our gold at home. The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great, that no effort on the part of the Government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

“It is only claimed for the Peace Congress, designed under the Administration of Garfield, that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago when they threw off the

yoke of Spanish tyranny. We were then a weak Republic of but ten millions, but we did not hesitate to recognize the independence of the new governments, even at the risk of war with Spain. Our foreign policy at that time was specially designed to extend our influence in the Western Hemisphere, and the statesmen of that era—the era of DeWitt Clinton and the younger Adams, of Clay and of Crawford, of Webster and Calhoun, of Van Buren and Benton, of Jackson and of Edward Livingston—were always courageous in the inspiring measures which they advocated for the expansion of our commercial dominion.

“Three score years have passed. The power of the Republic in many directions has grown beyond all anticipation, but we have relatively lost ground in some great fields of enterprise. We have added thousands of miles to our ocean front, but our commerce has fallen off, and from ardent friendship with Spanish America we have drifted into indifference if not into coldness. It is but one step further to reach a condition of positive unfriendliness, which may end in what would be equivalent to a commercial alliance against us. Already one of the most dangerous of movements—that of a European guarantee and guardianship of the Inter-oceanic Canal—is suggested and urged upon the Great Foreign Powers by representatives of a South American

country. If these tendencies are to be averted, if Spanish-American friendship is to be regained, if the commercial empire that legitimately belongs to us is to be ours, we must not lie idle and witness its transfer to others. If we would reconquer it, a great first step is to be taken. It is the first step that costs. It is also the first step that counts. Can there be suggested a wiser step than the Peace Congress of the two Americas, that was devised under Garfield, and had the weight of his great name?

"In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress; failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been, worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring

honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent Nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

CHAPTER XII.

IN MEMORIAM.

The Eulogy on Garfield—An Impressive Scene in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington—A Distinguished Audience in Attendance—Eminent Fitness of the Speaker to the Theme—Memories of Sixteen Years Before—An Eloquent Review of the Career of America's Second Martyr President—The Full Text of the Oration.

Seldom has it fallen to the lot of man to participate in a more impressive ceremony than that of February 27, 1882, in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington. Briefly stated, the occasion was that of the delivery of the official eulogy upon the late President, James A. Garfield, by James G. Blaine, in the presence of the Congress and the chief Executive and Judicial officers of State. This perfunctory record, however, indicates, except by suggestion, only an infinitesimal fraction of the interest attached to the event.

The audience assembled on that day comprised the members of both Houses of Congress, the President and his Cabinet, the Supreme Court, many official representatives of foreign governments, and a great number of the most distinguished men and women in all walks of American life. The purpose was to do honor, by the delivery of a formal eulogium, to the memory of one of

the most loved and honored American statesmen of the age, who less than a year and a half ago had been elected President of the Republic, who after a brilliant administration extending over only one-twelfth of the legal time allotted term of office, had been stricken down by the murderous hand of a madman, and who, after a painful lingering of many weeks, had gone to his grave amid the tears and lamentations of the entire nation, and amid the respectful sympathy of the whole civilized world, leaving behind him a record of public service, of personal charm, of patriotic achievement, of manly virtue, seldom rivalled in all the pages of American history. This eulogium was most appropriately to be pronounced by the man who was that martyr President's most eminent and most trusted councillor of State, and most intimate and beloved friend, and who was, moreover, himself one of the most conspicuous and esteemed of American statesmen.

The capital city of the Republic was flooded on that day with a wealth of genial sunshine. Business houses everywhere were closed in token of respect to the day, and the national colors were everywhere floating at half mast. All through the bright hours of the morning, throngs of people, on foot and in all sorts of equipages, were traversing the stately avenues converging on the great white Capitol. Long before the doors of the Hall of the House of Representatives were open, a

multitude had gathered about them large enough to fill many times all the available space. A few moments after the opening of the doors all the seats save those reserved for specially invited guests were occupied. It was an audience distinguished but solemn in appearance, nearly every one being dressed in funereal black. There were no special decorations in the hall except a large portrait of Garfield. All the litter of books and papers which usually strews the floor and desks had been removed. Special rows of chairs had been placed for the President, Cabinet, Senators, and members of the Diplomatic Corps and also for the members of the Ohio Legislature and various other guests. The Marine Band, stationed in the corridor outside, played appropriate music.

Conspicuous among the special guests was the venerable George Bancroft, who sixteen years before had been the orator of the day on a similar occasion, when for the first time in American history the Congress assembled to honor the memory of a murdered Chief Magistrate. W. W. Corcoran was there, the aged philanthropist who had done so much to adorn the nation's capital. There were also Cyrus W. Field, the projector and constructor of the Atlantic Cable; William T. Sherman, the General of the American army, with his gallant comrades, Sheridan, Hancock, Howard, and Meigs; Admiral Porter and a

distinguished company of officers of the Navy ; the members of the Diplomatic Corps, resplendent in Court uniforms ; the members of the Supreme Court, in their gowns of office ; and the President of the United States and the members of his Cabinet. All these, together with the Senators and Representatives, displayed badges of mourning.

Sixteen years before, as we have said, on a Monday in February, the Capitol had seen a similar gathering in memory of Abraham Lincoln. On that occasion the eulogy was delivered by George Bancroft, who was here present. Nineteen members only of this Congress had been members then. Garfield had been, at that time, a member of the House—only thirty-four years old, but already a conspicuous leader of his party. James G. Blaine had also then been a Representative, rapidly rising toward the Speakership. Roscoe Conkling and Rutherford B. Hayes, Randall and Kelley, Kasson, and Voorhees, and Allison, and Dawes, and Morrill, had been members of that former House ; and Windom, who was Garfield's Secretary of the Treasury. On that occasion, Ulysses S. Grant had been present, in the uniform of a Lieutenant-General. Jefferson Davis was, at that time, still a prisoner in Fortress Monroe. Alexander H. Stephens had only recently been liberated on parole, as had also nearly a dozen rebel leaders who now, restored to the enjoyment of their citizenship and political

rights, were members of the United States Senate.

It was amid memories such as these, and memories, too, of the great events that had occurred during the intervening sixteen years, that this audience gathered to do honor to the memory of Garfield. The programme of services was a very simple one. Shortly after twelve o'clock, noon, the Speaker called the House to order. Prayer was offered by the Chaplain. The Clerk read the resolution of the two Houses under which the services were to be held. Then the members of the Senate and other guests filed in and took their places. Last came the orator of the day, escorted by Senator Sherman and Representative McKinley, and accompanied by William E. Chandler, Stephen B. Elkins, Thomas H. Sherman and Emmons Blaine. Mr. Blaine took his place at the Clerk's desk. Before him lay the manuscript of his oration, written in a large, bold hand, upon heavy paper with a broad black border. Feeling, perhaps more deeply than any one else in all the great assemblage, the full and serious importance of the occasion, he spoke slowly, bravely and with most impressive fervor. Throughout, the assembled thousands listened with silent and sympathetic attention. At the end of the oration, the President of the United States led the audience in a hearty round of applause to the speaker, applause that, under the circumstances, had a singularly

solemn sound. Then the distinguished guests departed, and the general audience followed them. The Nation had paid its last formal tribute of respect to one of its most loved and honored servants.

Mr. Blaine's oration on this occasion forms an essential part of his own history, as well as of the history of Garfield and of the history of the Nation, and it is accordingly herewith printed in full.

THE ORATION.

Mr. President.—For the second time in this generation the great departments of the government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives, to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle, in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless

demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from Old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the colonies in 1620, would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, and from a small emigration from Scotland, from Ireland, and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among

the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in part become anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, the seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny, even from the Grand Manarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and, during his only visit to England, he

busied himself in searching out every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army-rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons one night, after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said, with evident elation, that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth; and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

His father dying before he was two years old, Garfield's early life was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of this destitution, none of these pitiful features appealing to the tender heart, and to the open hand, of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude in

a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log-cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log-cabin raised amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents, which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle, and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty, different in kind, different in influence and effect, from the conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the

beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking, is a matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield, as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder, which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting-vessel, or on a merchantman bound to the farther India, or to the China seas. No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty

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until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight, and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the

fulness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period, presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams, onward to the hour of his tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State Senator of Ohio, Major-General of the Army of the United States, and Representative-elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief, and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His

immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and emancipation of an important territory from the control of the Rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment

elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them—driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection fortified with abundant artillery. Major-General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the Regular Army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a Brigadier-General's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight in the great Battle of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task assigned him by General Buell, of

reconstructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railway communication for the Army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant field was varied by service on courts-martial of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent Judge-Advocate-General of the Army. That of itself was warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary’s deliverance—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the Chief of Staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy and disseminate more strife than any other

man in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed, and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for his bravery on the field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a Major-General in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to

determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of Major-General on the fifth day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh. He had served two years and four months in the Army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the Army and Navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans

in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. In this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and, it might almost be said, unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas or taking his seat in Congress was kept open till the last moment, so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a Major-General of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula District were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy, and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretence can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed. With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and on Foreign Missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his Parliamentary hero,

Garfield's constitution was not of the robust or iron-clad type, but he was a vigorous and a well-balanced man. When he was in the field he put his feet upon a granite step and his commanding gaze was ever on the varied symptoms of the "war of nerves" of every man with whom he was in contact. He never expended so much strength that he seemed to be holding additional power in reserve. That is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the direct and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his services in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice.

The few efforts he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test, and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the Government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid and skilful. He possessed, in a high degree, the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts,

and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshalled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude and fairness, and such liberality of concession, that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast, "Our country, always right, but, right or wrong, our

country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause is one who believes his party always right, but right or wrong is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time for the contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skilfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against its immemorial rights, against his own convictions, if, indeed, at that period Fox had convictions, and, in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him and installed Luttrell in defiance, not merely of law, but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind, Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr.

Clay, Mr. Douglas and Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a single trait in common—the power to command. In the give and take of discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay in 1841, when, at sixty-four years of age, he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840, and drove his Administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong Administration, against the wise counsel

of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet, and the moral power of Chase on the Bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically, differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress.

No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of *The Congressional Record*, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the National Government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue, may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanism, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defence of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures, yet to be completed—measures which he knew

were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime, and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He perhaps more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning, and the patient industry of investigation to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English Parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, and striking resemblances are discernible in that most promising of modern conservatives, who died too early for his country and his fame, the Lord George Bentinck. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with, possibly, some of his superabundance; and in his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of

literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve, as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland, and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his, then, recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health and has slept well and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man and the ships will sail 600, 1,000, 1,500 miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it

continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign.

No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue ?

Under it all he was calm and strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general *debris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul and he died with the injury unforgotten, if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his

popularity before his nomination, and unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons."

I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and with the aid of Congress no doubt perfected.

But, while many of the Executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the Government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis and his skill in classification enabled him to despatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His Cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered

suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done by his Administration toward restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at three memorable assemblies in the South—the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the association of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a

common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defence. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering, the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for all.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his Administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or could be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of National progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a

conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the démonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fateful day in July, form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy ; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be source of contention with others, have become, so far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and the

love of surviving friends : From the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any supposed sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last

conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist Communion, which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his church. His reasons were characteristic: first, that Bethany leaned too heavily toward slavery; and second, that being himself a Disciple and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with the people of other beliefs and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and moral views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God with unbiased liberty of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. Its members profess with sincerity, and profess only to be of one mind and one faith with those who immediately followed the Master, and who were first called Christians at Antioch.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the ark of the covenant. To him it was the gate of heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defence of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend, and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to church

organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher, who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during all his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterances of Saint Paul. He referred often in after years to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the

assured hope with which the great apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

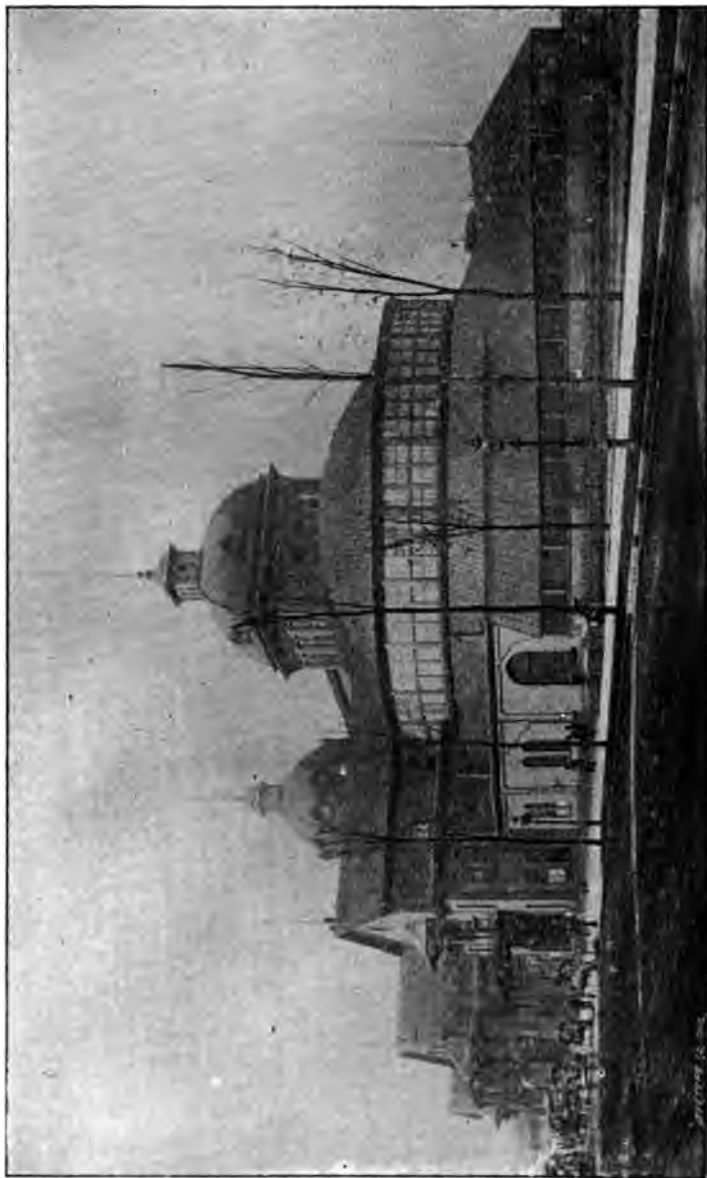
The crowning characteristic of General Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed and men of no creed, and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted free-thinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2d, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly, happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his

Administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger ; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed ; that trouble lay behind him, and not before him ; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted, and at times almost unnerved, him ; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress, from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him ; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching out peacefully before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest,



CONVENTION BUILDING, CHICAGO.

from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell—what brilliant broken plans, what baffled high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant Nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toils and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a Nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy

could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness, and hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders ; on its fair sails, whitening in the morning light ; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun ; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon ; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONVENTION OF 1884.

Mr. Blaine a Candidate for the Third Time—Meeting of the Convention—The First Skirmish—The Declaration of Principles—The Various Candidates Placed in Nomination—Speech of Judge West in Behalf of Mr. Blaine—Scenes of Unparalleled Enthusiasm—Steadfast Support for President Arthur—Mr. Blaine Nominated on the Fourth Ballot—Address of the Committee Informing Him of the Result—Mr. Blaine's Reply.

For a third time, in 1884, Mr. Blaine's name was brought forward by his friends in a National Republican Convention as a Presidential candidate. His support was now stronger than ever before, and the opposition to him was less united than in 1880. President Arthur, who had been elected Vice-President in 1880, and had succeeded to the Presidency on the assassination of Garfield, was strongly favored by a large section of the party, although he had studiously refrained from putting himself forward in any manner as a candidate. The nomination of Senator Sherman was strongly urged by many on account of his long and distinguished public services. Senator Edmunds, Senator Logan, Senator Harrison, Senator Hawley, Judge Gresham, General Grant, and the Hon. Robert T. Lincoln also had their supporters. Mr. Blaine was, however, indisputably

the leading candidate. He had personally made no effort towards securing the nomination, and had personally little expectation of success. But his friends were more numerous, more united, more determined, and more enthusiastic than ever before. His defeats in 1876 and 1880 had only increased their resolution to secure for him the coveted prize.

The Convention met at Chicago on Tuesday, June 3d, in the vast Exposition Building. On one hand the cry was for Blaine ; on the other, anything to beat Blaine. The Convention was called to order by Senator Sabin, of Minnesota, and the opening of the battle began a few minutes later when he proposed the Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, for Temporary Chairman of the Convention. Mr. Clayton was an earnest supporter of Mr. Blaine, and was regarded as the Blaine candidate for the chairmanship. Immediately, therefore, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, nominated as an opposition candidate, the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi. Mr. Lynch was an African gentleman, who had served with distinction in Congress and was eminently well fitted for the position. The supporters of President Arthur and Senator Edmunds voted for him and succeeded in electing him as Temporary Chairman, and the supporters of Mr. Blaine thus received a check. The next day's session was called to order by Mr. Lynch, and presently ex-Senator John B. Henderson, of

Missouri, was chosen Permanent Chairman of the Convention. The following declaration of principles, or Platform, was then adopted :

“The Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections; and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

“The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demand of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

“We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war

and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

“In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity ; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

“It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

“The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

“We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not ‘for revenue only,’ but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer ; to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

“Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

“The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

“The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

“We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity ; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

“We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world ; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

“The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States, is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government ; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

“The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people ; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people, and the railways alike, the fair and equal protection of the laws.

“We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor ; the enforcement of the eight-hour law ; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption ; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

“The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit, we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions ; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

“Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided.

“The public lands are a heritage to the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens. And we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

“The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled,

and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879. So that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability, or discharge, and not with the date of application.

“The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

“We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

“Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona-fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

“Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our

Territories; and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

"The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederacy of States; the National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

"The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

"We extend the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete

recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

“Respectfully submitted,

“WM. McKINLEY,

“*Chairman.*

“WM. WALTER PHELPS, *Secretary.*”

The real contest of the Convention now came on, in the choice of a candidate for the head of the ticket. The nominating speeches were made on Friday, June 5th. The roll of States was called in alphabetical order. When Connecticut was named the Hon. Augustus Brandegee nominated General Joseph R. Hawley. When Illinois was reached Senator Cullom presented the name of General John A. Logan. Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky and Louisiana were called without response. Then the Secretary called the State of Maine. On the instant, says an eye-witness, there was a sudden explosion, and in a twinkling the Convention was a scene of the wildest enthusiasm and excitement. Whole delegations sprang upon their chairs and led the cheering, which spread to the stage and galleries and deepened into a roar like the voice of Niagara. The walls of the building literally trembled and the gas-lights flickered and flared as if in a hurricane. The flags and other decorations were torn from the walls and the gallery front and waved madly in the air, with hats, umbrellas, handkerchiefs and

every other object within reach. Dignified and venerable men stood upon their chairs, stripped their coats from their backs and waved them in the air like madmen. For fifteen minutes twelve thousand throats gave forth the chorus of pandemonium, and quiet was only restored when the multitude was literally exhausted by its efforts to do honor to the magic name of Blaine.

Then Judge West, of Ohio, a blind man, but a most eloquent speaker, was led forward and spoke as follows :

“As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. (Applause.) Four and twenty years of the grandest history of recorded times has distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses have threatened, but our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency, not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends upon the action of this council. With bated breath, a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South (applause), while above, from the portals of light,

is looking down the immortal spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us Hail and God-speed. (Applause.) Six times in six campaigns has that banner triumphed—that symbol of union, freedom, humanity and progress—some time borne by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms (wild applause), last by him at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave. (Cheers and applause.) Shall that banner triumph again?

“Commit it to the bearing of that chief (a voice, ‘James G. Blaine, of Maine’—cheers)—commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veterans, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. (Cheers.) Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of freedom and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and aroused the Republic, rallied, united and inspired the forces of patriotism and the forces of humanity in one consolidated phalanx, have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The arms of the Solid South are against us. Not an electoral

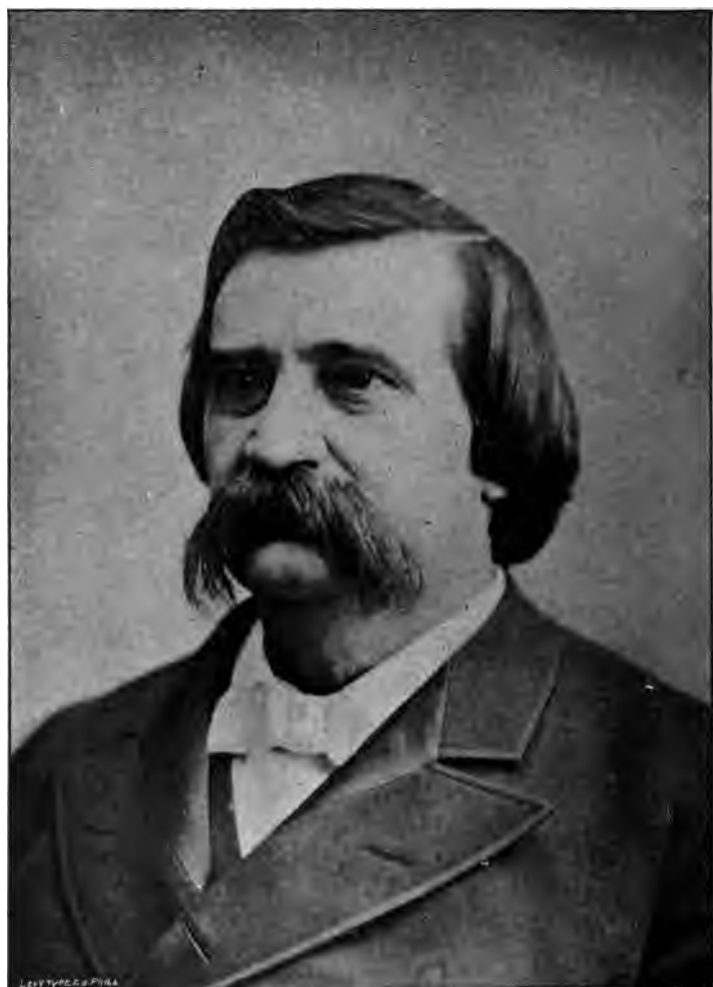
gain can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, and the loom; from the mines, the workshop, and the desk; from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras; from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. The Republican States must furnish these conquering battalions if triumph come.

“Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funereal marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers, as they sweep on and onward to certain victory? (Cheers.) A representative of American manhood (applause), a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China? (Loud applause.) In this contention of forces, to whose candidate shall be entrusted our battle-flag? Citizens, I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tittle from the just fame, integrity and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. (Applause.) I abate not one

tittle from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds (applause), of Joseph R. Hawley (applause), of John Sherman (applause), of that grand old black eagle of Illinois. (Here the speaker was interrupted several moments by prolonged applause.) And I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named, have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation brought him to the highest office—second in dignity to the office of the President only himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. (Applause.) A man for whom the Senators and rivals will vote, the Secretary of State of the United States is good enough for a plain flesh and blood God's people to vote for President. (Loud applause.)

“Who shall be our candidate? Not the representative of a particular interest of a particular class. Send the great proclamation to the country labelled ‘The Doctor's Candidate,’ ‘The Lawyer's Candidate,’ ‘The Wall Street Candidate,’ and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. (Applause.)

“Gentlemen, he must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political, as well as personal, emancipation and enfranchisement of mankind—a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of



JOHN A. LOGAN.

American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the Palmetto, under the Pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which, under the '*sic semper tyrannis*' of the Old Dominion, emulates, by slaughter, popular majorities in the name of Democracy—a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your Convention.

"Gentlemen, such a representative Republican is James G. Blaine, of Maine. (Applause, continuing twenty minutes.) If nominated to-night his campaign would commence to-morrow and continue until victory is assured. (Cheers.) There would be no powder burned to fire into the backs of his leaders. It would only be exploded to illuminate the inauguration. The brazen throats of the cannon in yonder square, waiting to herald the result of the Convention, would not have time to cool before his name would be caught up on ten thousand tongues of electric flame. It would sweep down from the old Pine Tree State. It would go over the hills and valleys of New England.

"Three millions of Republicans believe that that man who, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, in all that struggle of humanity and progress,

wherever humanity desired succor, wherever love for freedom called for protection, wherever the country called for a defender, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there in the forefront of the battle were seen to wave the white plumes of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of a September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the campfires and beacon lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on.

"If you do so, he will give you a glorious victory in November next, and when he shall have taken his position as President of the great Republic, you may be sure you will have an administration in the interest of commerce, in the interest of labor, in the interest of finance, in the interest of peace at home and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people." (Long applause.)

At the end of almost every sentence in this speech the whole Convention burst into enthusiastic applause. And at the first mention of the name of Blaine there was a repetition of the scene that had preceded the speech. For fifteen or twenty minutes Judge West was compelled to remain silent while the Convention shouted and

stamped and waved itself into a state of utter exhaustion. The nomination was seconded by Governor Davis of Minnesota, by the Hon. William C. Goodloe of Kentucky, by the Hon. Thomas C. Platt of New York, and by the Hon. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, amid a continuous accompaniment of cheering and applause of the most enthusiastic character.

Presently the State of New York was called and then there was an outburst of enthusiasm similar to that which had greeted the State of Maine. Chester A. Arthur was placed in nomination amid great enthusiasm. Then the Hon. J. B. Foraker of Ohio nominated John Sherman, and ex-Governor Long of Massachusetts nominated Senator Edmunds.

When the balloting for the nomination of a candidate was begun, it was found that many of the delegations were divided in their choice, and a poll of each delegation had to be made. As the result of this ballot Mr. Blaine had 334½ votes, Mr. Arthur 278, Mr. Edmunds 93, Mr. Logan 63½, Mr. Sherman 30, Mr. Hawley 13, Mr. Lincoln 4, and General William T. Sherman 2. No candidate having a majority of all the votes cast, a second ballot was immediately called for and was taken without material change in the result. There was a slight gain for Mr. Blaine, however, which called for another period of tumultuous cheering. Then the third ballot was called for amid

much confusion. The votes of various delegations were challenged and there were many disputes on various points of order. When the result was finally announced it was seen that Mr. Blaine had gained many votes and had now a total of 375. Mr. Arthur's supporters remained steadfast at 274. Mr. Edmunds's vote had fallen to 69, and there were other slight changes. But the result of this ballot indicated that Mr. Blaine was the coming man and his opponents desperately strove to stave off the inevitable. Mr. Foraker, of Ohio, moved for a recess of several hours, but the proposition was overwhelmingly voted down. Then there was another long wrangle on points of order, followed by another motion from Mr. Foraker that the rules of the Convention be suspended and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. There was a great and disorderly wrangle over this, also, which ended in the motion being withdrawn.

Then the fourth ballot began. The bulk of Mr. Arthur's supporters remained faithful to him. But the Illinois delegation withdrew the name of General Logan, and cast 34 votes for Blaine. When the State of Ohio was called, the name of John Sherman was also withdrawn and 46 more votes were added to the Blaine column. That settled it. The remainder of the roll call proceeded amid great confusion and the Secretary began to announce the result. But the words

"Blaine, 541" were scarcely out of his mouth before his voice was drowned in a perfect deluge of applause which lasted for many minutes. The whole Convention rose to its feet and shouted and screamed and sang and stamped and waved in the air every movable object within reach. It was impossible for the Secretary to make himself heard. But at last partial quiet was restored and the result of the ballot in full was announced as follows: Blaine, 541; Arthur, 207; Edmunds, 41; Hawley, 15; Logan, 7; and Lincoln, 2. Immediately, upon motion of one of Mr. Arthur's supporters, the nomination was made unanimous, and the Convention adjourned until evening. Then General Logan was nominated for Vice-President and the Convention adjourned. At the third attempt Mr. Blaine's friends had been successful. They had secured for him the nomination for President by the Republican party, with brilliant prospects for a successful issue at the polls. A committee, consisting of a large number of eminent Republicans, was appointed to inform Mr. Blaine officially of his nomination. They did so, at his home at Augusta, Maine, on June 21st, their address being read by ex-Senator Henderson, as follows:

"MR. BLAINE:—Your nomination for the office of President of the United States, by the National Republican Convention recently assembled in Chicago, is already known to you. The gentlemen

before you, constituting a committee composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country, and one from the District of Columbia, now come as the accredited organ of that Convention, to give you formal notice of the nomination and to request your acceptance thereof.

“It is, of course, known to you, that besides your own, several names, among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party, were presented by their friends as candidates for this office. Between your friends and the friends of gentlemen so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates, the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from any taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice. At an early stage of the proceedings of the Convention it became manifest that the Republican States, whose aid must be invoked at last to insure success to the ticket, earnestly desired your nomination. It was equally manifest that this desire, so earnestly expressed by the delegates from these States, was but the truthful reflection of an irresistible popular demand. It was not thought, nor pretended, that this demand had its origin in any ambitious desires of your own, or in the organized work of your friends, but it was recognized to be what it truthfully is—the spontaneous expression by a free people of their love and admiration of a chosen leader.

"No nomination would have given satisfaction to all the members of the party. This was not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in interests. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, disappointed so many fond hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions that for a short time the disaffection threatened to ripen into open revolt. In 1872 the discontent was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party into organized opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of General Garfield, in 1880, defeat seemed almost inevitable. Fortunately, in each case, the shock of disappointment was followed by the sober second thought. Individual preferences gradually yielded to convictions of public duty. The promptings of patriotism finally rose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. Indeed, the party in every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

"In tendering you this nomination, it gives us pleasure to remember that those great measures which furnished causes for party congratulation by the late Convention at Chicago, and which are now crystallized into the legislation of the country—measures which have strengthened and dignified the Nation, while they have elevated and advanced the people—have, at all times and on all proper occasions, received your earnest and valuable support. It was your good fortune to

aid in protecting the Nation against the assaults of armed treason ; you were present and helped to unloose the shackles of the slave ; you assisted in placing the new guarantees of freedom in the Federal Constitution ; your voice was potent in preserving the National faith ; when false theories of finance would have blasted National and individual prosperity, we kindly remember you as the fast friend of honest money and commercial integrity. In all that pertains to the security and repose of capital, the dignity of labor, the manhood, elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand, and the duty of the government to afford, protection, your public acts have received the unqualified endorsement of popular approval.

“ But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, cannot live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with its immediate cares, and the future presses on with its new duties and its perplexing responsibilities. Parties, like individuals, however, that are free from the stain of violated faith in the past, are fairly entitled to presumptions of sincerity in their promises for the future.

“ Among the promises made by the party in its late Convention at Chicago, are : Purity and economy of administration ; protection of the citizen, native and naturalized, at home and abroad ; the prompt restoration of our navy ; a wise reduction

of the surplus revenues, relieving the tax-payer without injuring the laborer ; the preservation of the public lands for actual settlers ; import duties, when necessary at all, to be levied not for revenue only but for the double purpose of revenue and protection ; regulation of internal commerce by the National Congress ; settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted by the fathers of the Republic ; perseverance in the good work of civil service reform, " to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided" ; honest currency based on coin of intrinsic value, adding strength to the public credit, and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

" Mr. Blaine : During the last twenty-three years the Republican party has builded a new Republic—a Republic far more splendid than that originally designed by our forefathers. Its proportions, already grand, may yet be enlarged ; its foundations may yet be strengthened, and its columns adorned with a beauty more resplendent still. To you, as its architect-in-chief, will soon be assigned this grateful work."

To this address Mr. Blaine replied, saying :

" *Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the National Committee.*—I receive, not without deep sensibility,

your official notice of the action of the National Convention, already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate, more profoundly than I can express, the honor which is implied in the nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the Nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of its duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage, from the list of eminent Statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor, and my desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me.

"In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed, I might almost say oppressed, with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add, as does your honorable committee, the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty. A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and in whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

"Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my

home. With many of you I have already shared the duties of the public service, and have enjoyed the most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but among friends. Invoking the blessing of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear, and with manly hearts."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

The Opening of Mr. Blaine's Campaign—A Statesmanlike Discussion of the Issues of the Day—The Revenue Laws and the Protective Tariff—Agricultural Interests of the Nation—Foreign and Domestic Commerce—Labor and Capital—Relations with Foreign Nations—The South American Republics—The Civil Service—The Mormon Question—The Freedom and Purity of the Ballot.

The platform adopted by the National Republican Convention expressed the principles of the party. It remained for the candidate to make a direct and explicit personal utterance on the leading issues of the day, which should be, in great measure, the keynote of public discussion during the campaign. This Mr. Blaine did in his formal letter of acceptance, which is worthy of preservation and study as a text-book of American patriotism, and of the principles of American policy and American citizenship. It is here reproduced in full :

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and Others of the Committee, etc., etc.

Gentlemen.—In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the National Republican Convention, I beg to express a

deep sense of the honor which is conferred, and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the Civil War, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be

adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well-defined, and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the census of 1850, an effort was made for the first time in our history to obtain a valuation

of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between “assessed” value and “true” value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the “true value” of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States, from the time the first British colonists landed in 1607, down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of two hundred and fifty years.

After 1860, the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of twenty years, the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained,

notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had, in the interval, been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears, that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased sixty per cent., the aggregate property increased two hundred and fourteen per cent., showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of \$125,000,000 per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied



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relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our National character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged, is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the Nation.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interests against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the

cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country, regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has, from some obvious causes, suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time, the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America—elsewhere referred to—had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand,

our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars (\$12,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade, when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the city of New York, with its dependencies, has, within that period, doubled her population and increased her wealth fivefold. During the same period, the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double, in bulk and value, the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the Island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the Nation, and is entitled, in every adjustment of revenue laws, to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States

that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But, happily, the farmers of America are intelligent, and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that, during the past twenty-four years, wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between \$800,000,000 and \$900,000,000 each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to \$2,600,000,000, while Illinois had advanced to \$3,200,000,000. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of \$850,000,000, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of \$1,500,000,000. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West had grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth in 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and

devastation of war, it has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that, in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Such facts as these, touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also, that in addition to the advantages which the

American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention, or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by 56,000,000 of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce, these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as

our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter, countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital, guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the

efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonized the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican administration, has developed

such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary, which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are

free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any Power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no Power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement, that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration, and it should, in my judgment, be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish-American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance, in an official despatch, that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of

both. The line of demarcation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish-America as wisely and persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to \$350,000,000—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite 50,000,000, and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded \$225,000,000, while the exports were less than \$125,000,000—showing a balance against us of more than \$100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish America.

We send large sums to Europe in coin or its equivalent to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Can not this condition of trade in great part be changed? Can not the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successively made with every nation of North and South America. While the great Powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

The name of American, which belongs to us in our National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the Republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must

everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The Republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time, and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable condition of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquillity and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period it can be said, to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the Civil Service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller, have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be right observance of the law which gives, in all cases of equal competency, the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defence of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer, except in four instances, and then for

non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusion of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce

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in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to secretaries of legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offences against the law. A religious sect, strongly entrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practise as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practise polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen

tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the right of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes ; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive National sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of land-holders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many, is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers, and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so. Among our National interests, one languishes—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our Civil War, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freighting larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufactures, and a small

share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation, and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of Republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizens. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power. I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

A Bitter and Exciting Political Contest—The Standard-Bearers of the Two Parties—Personal Attacks upon Mr. Blaine—The Mugwump Defection—The State Election in Maine—Mr Blaine's Tour through the Country—His Visit to New York—The Delmonico Dinner—The Visit of the Clergymen—"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion"—Some Reckless Lying—Effect of the Mischief—Result of the Election—Mr. Blaine's Comments—The Cleveland Administration.

"It was a battle of the first rank won by a Captain of the Second." These words, written by Victor Hugo concerning the battle of Waterloo, might with entire justice be applied to the Presidential campaign of 1884. It was a political contest of the greatest importance and of the intensest interest. On one side, the leader was confessedly the most conspicuous and most able American statesman of the time. On the other, the leader was a comparatively unknown and inconspicuous man, who, however estimable, was not, even by his most ardent partisans, compared with his opponent in experience of public affairs or in the general qualities of leadership and statesmanship. And the contest by the narrowest of margins, and by virtue of a malice-inspired accident at the eleventh hour, was won by the latter.

James G. Blaine was the candidate of the Republican party, the party which had elected every President of the United States for nearly a quarter of a century. With him was associated, as candidate for the Vice-Presidency, General John A. Logan, who had been one of the most conspicuous commanders in the National army during the War of the Rebellion, and who since had served with distinction in both Houses of Congress and had shown himself a statesman of no mean rank. The Democratic candidate was Stephen Grover Cleveland. He had been during the war a Democrat of pro-slavery proclivities. He had begun his public career in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., as Sheriff and public hangman ; had been elected Mayor of that city as a "reform" candidate at a time of political upheaval and transition ; and finally had been elected Governor of New York State by the phenomenal majority of nearly 200,000—a majority which he owed to the fact that about that number of Republicans had at that election refrained from voting for their own party candidate because of their dissatisfaction with the influences which had secured his nomination. As Mayor and Governor, Mr. Cleveland had acquired a reputation for a considerable degree of executive ability and also for certain "reform" qualities, by virtue of which it was supposed that he would, if elected President, introduce what were vaguely termed "business methods" into the administration of his

office. He was also known to be in favor of Free Trade, or "a tariff for revenue only," as against the Republican principle of Protection. His associate, the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, was Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, a statesman of much higher rank, greater abilities and more extended experience.

The campaign between the two parties, thus led, was one of the most bitterly contested in the whole history of American politics. On the Republican side it was fought chiefly on the issue of the tariff. The advantages of Protection in building up American industries and assuring to American workmen higher wages than were paid in other lands, were unceasingly urged. The Democrats spoke in favor of Free Trade, but did not venture very strongly to press that point. They devoted their attention chiefly to personal attacks upon Mr. Blaine, many of them of an indescribably scurrilous character. The "Mulligan letters" were again dragged forth and exploited in every possible manner. One of Mr. Blaine's most earnest and able champions, Mr. William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, made a conclusive reply to this attack, amply disposing of all the renewed charges against Mr. Blaine. But this did not silence the latter's enemies. They kept harping upon the same worn strings all through the campaign. The absurd Shipherd business was also pitchforked into fresh notoriety. More than all

this, the sanctity of Mr. Blaine's private life was invaded and the most shocking libels were uttered against his domestic relations.

Nor were Mr. Blaine's opponents confined to the Democratic party. A considerable number of Republicans, inspired by jealousy or envy, refused to support him. Another section of that party, favoring Free Trade, openly repudiated him and went over in a body to the support of Mr. Cleveland. They were at first called Independents, but afterwards received the permanent appellation of Mugwumps. The real source of their opposition to Mr. Blaine, as stated by their most conspicuous leader, was his well-known championship of the protective tariff system. They pretended, however, to be opposed to him on the ground of his alleged official corruption in connection with the "Mulligan letters" business, and also because of his intense partisanship and so-called machine politics. The newspaper organs of the Mugwumps were the most persistent and bitter of all the critics of Mr. Blaine.

On the other hand, the mass of the Republican party rallied with almost unprecedented enthusiasm to the support of their brilliant and accomplished leader. The more bitter were the attacks on him, the more ardent and energetic were his friends in repelling them. Nor were his supporters confined to those hitherto known as Republicans. His advocacy of the rights of American

labor made him the champion of working men everywhere and drew to his support thousands who had hitherto been identified with the Democratic party. His vigorous assertion of the rights of American citizens in all parts of the world during his brief term as Secretary of State, and his well-known sympathy with the struggle for Home Rule in Ireland, won for him the votes of thousands of Americans of Irish origin. So it appeared to be for him a winning battle, and down to the very day of the election his friends were confident of his success.

During the early part of the campaign Mr. Blaine remained quietly at his home in Maine, leaving the active conduct of the struggle to his friends. During the State campaign in Maine, however, which culminated in the election of a Governor on September 8th, two months before the Presidential election, he attended a number of political meetings and made addresses. Although his remarks were not of a partisan political character, they greatly encouraged the Republicans and aided them in their campaign, and the splendid majority of nearly 20,000 by which the Republican candidate for Governor was elected was rightly considered to be due, in great part, to Mr. Blaine's influence. Late in the evening of the day of the State election a great multitude assembled before Mr. Blaine's house at Augusta, to pay him their tribute of respect and congratulations, and he

made a brief address to them. He referred in moderate but emphatic terms to the issues of the National campaign, and explained why he had not more actively participated in the State campaign. "I do not disguise from you," he said, "that I am profoundly gratified with the result. Desirous of the good opinion of all men, I am sure I esteem beyond all others the good opinion of these excellent people, among whom I have passed nearly all the years of my adult life, and who have known me intimately from young manhood as a fellow-citizen, neighbor and friend."

Republican leaders throughout the country now began to argue, most reasonably, that if Mr. Blaine's mere presence in Maine had effected such good results, his participation in the party canvass in other States would materially aid the prosecution of the campaign. Mr. Blaine was reluctant to make what is called a personal canvass, but he finally yielded to the earnest solicitations of his friends, and on September 17th left Augusta for New York. His progress through the States of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts was marked everywhere by extraordinary enthusiasm. At Boston that night he made a very brief address to about 20,000 people who had gathered in the street before his hotel. The next day he proceeded by train to New York, stopping at Worcester, Palmer, Springfield and Hartford for a few minutes each to exchange greetings with the

multitudes who had assembled to do him honor. He was welcomed to New York by an almost unprecedented demonstration of popular enthusiasm. Among the many eminent people who called upon him at his hotel the next day was General Grant, who had a long and pleasant conversation with him and expressed confidence in his election. In the evening he had an informal reception at the headquarters of the Republican National Committee, and appeared for a few minutes on the platform in front of the building to receive the greetings of 50,000 or 60,000 citizens who crowded the street. He remained in New York until the evening of September 22d, when he set out for Philadelphia. All the way across New Jersey the train was saluted by enthusiastic thousands, and in Philadelphia an enormous multitude welcomed him.

Mr. Blaine set out for Ohio, where his presence was especially desired, on September 24th, going by the way of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad. At every station where the train stopped great crowds were assembled and Mr. Blaine spoke a few words of personal greeting. This was done at Peekskill, Cold Spring, Fishkill, Poughkeepsie, Hudson, Albany, Schenectady, Fonda, Fort Plain, Little Falls, Herkimer, Canastota, Utica, Rome, and Syracuse. At the last-named place he remained over night, and the next morning resumed his journey. Brief stops were

made at Auburn, Seneca Falls, Geneva, Phelps, Canandaigua, Batavia, and Rochester. At Buffalo he remained over night, and was welcomed by an outpouring of fully 70,000 people in that city, the home of his rival. The next day he completed his journey to Ohio, stopping at Dunkirk, Westfield and Erie. Brief stops were made at various points in Ohio before reaching Cleveland, where a tremendous demonstration was made by at least 100,000 people. In this State, he visited Toledo, Dayton, Cincinnati, Columbus, and various other places, making brief addresses and greatly inspiring and encouraging his party friends everywhere.

Early in October he visited West Virginia and made addresses at various points. Then he returned to Ohio and made a second tour of the State. October 14th found him in Michigan. He visited a number of cities in that State, and then proceeded to Indiana. Some of his strongest speeches of the whole campaign were made in this State, and at Indianapolis, the home of the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency, he was greeted by one of the greatest public gatherings ever seen in that city. On October 26th, he visited Milwaukee and made a stirring speech. Here an address was presented to him by a large club of Irish Americans. Returning to Chicago, he reviewed an organized procession of 30,000 men who paraded past his hotel, and received

many tributes of esteem and pledges of support from the people of that city.

His return to New York was made by the way of the Erie Railroad, and at the various stopping places through New York State and New Jersey similar demonstrations were made to those which had marked his progress westward the month before. On his arrival in New York City, the entire metropolis seemed to come out to welcome him, and every street echoed with the sound of marching feet, and the familiar battle cry, "Blaine! Blaine! James G. Blaine!" Soon after his arrival he was called upon to review a parade of 25,000 business men of the city, including many of the leaders in all branches of trade and industry.

While in the West, Mr. Blaine had received a letter from the Hon. William M. Evarts and about two hundred other eminent citizens of New York, inviting him to dine as their guest at Delmonico's well-known hotel on some evening in the last week of the campaign. He had replied to it, from Evansville, indicating Wednesday evening, October 29th, as the date most acceptable to him. The company that gathered on that occasion was one of the most distinguished ever seen in New York. Mr. Evarts presided, Mr. Blaine sitting at his right hand, and the Hon. L. P. Morton, United States Minister to France, at his left. Other guests at that table were Noah Davis, Presiding Justice of the Supreme Court of New York ;

ex-Governor Cornell, of New York; Governor
Holt, of Pennsylvania; Cyrus W. Field, the con-
structor of the Atlantic Cable; and Charles E.
Clark, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. At
the other tables were many of the most eminent
and successful men of New York City, representing
the commercial professions and all branches of
trade and industry. Numerous addresses were
made for the good purpose of the evening
entire, and that of Mr. Tilden closed with
these words:

[illegible]

wrongs to her that grew out of the Civil War (applause) ; and third, in perhaps averting another civil war by pleading before an Electoral Commission a peaceful settlement of the angriest political discussion that ever arose between the parties in the United States. (Applause and cheers)

“I turn now from your President to thank you, merchants, professional men, leaders in the great and complex society of New York—to thank you for receiving me, not merely at this festal board, but also in that far more impressive reception which the close of this rainy day witnesses in your broad and beautiful avenue. I could not, I am sure, by any possible stretch of vanity take this large and generous demonstration to myself. It is given to me only for the time as the representative of the principles which you and I hold in common, touching those great interests which underlie, as we believe, the prosperity of the Nation. (Applause.) And it is fitting that the commercial metropolis of the continent should lead ; it is fitting that the financial centre of the continent should lead ; it is fitting that this great city, second only in the world, should give an expression to the continent of its views and its judgment on the important questions to be decided Tuesday next by the American people. (Cheers.)

“And I venture—not that I know it so well as you, but that I am spokesman for the present—I

venture to remind you, men of New York, with your wealth and your just influence and your magnificent prestige, that seventy per cent. of the entire property of this city has been acquired since Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated, the 4th of March, 1861. I should not mention here a fact of percentage and of statistics if it did not carry with it an argument and a moral. The common apprehension in regard to New York is that it is simply a great commercial city—so great that its exports and imports represent largely the major part of all that is exported from or imported into the United States. That we all know. But we are often prone to forget that New York is the largest manufacturing city in the world, with perhaps a single exception; that of the \$6,000,000,000 of manufactures annually produced in the United States, this great Empire State furnishes one-fifth—\$1,200,000,000—of which this great Empire City produces \$500,000,000. And from these facts comes that great sympathy, that identity of interest which has moved the previously existing conflicts between what have been known as the manufacturing and the commercial interests, and has taught us that there can be no true prosperity in the country unless the three great interests comprehended by agriculture, manufactures and commerce are acting in harmony, the one with the other, and joining together for a common end and for the common good. (Cheers.)



CAPITOL.

"It is usually thought that a change of Government means but little ; that we come together with our votes a given day and count them as the sun goes down, and one party goes out and another comes in. But, gentlemen, it is worth while to remember that the United States is proceeding to-day upon a given basis of public policy—I might say upon a given series of public policies. We have a great financial system ; we have a great currency system ; we have an important National credit ; we have a levying of duties, as has been so well described by your distinguished President of the evening, so adjusted that the industries of the country are fostered and encouraged thereby ; we have three important constitutional amendments that grew out of the war, upon which, at this hour and in the hours, and the days, and the weeks, and the years to follow, great issues hang in this country. Are we—if we should be invited to step down and out and our opponents to step up and in (applause)—are we to understand that these policies are to be reversed? (Cries of "Yes! Yes!") Then if we are to understand that they are to be reversed we should, one and all, prepare for a grand disaster. ("Hear! Hear!" and cheers.) For a single illustration, let me recall to your minds that the repeal of ten lines in the National Banking Act would restore to vitality and vigor the old State-bank system from which we had happily escaped, as we

thought, for all the remainder of our lives.
(Applause.)

"If these policies are to be reversed, you will have to recast your accounts and review your ledgers and prepare for a new and, I may say, a dangerous departure; and if these policies are not to be reversed, they will certainly be better maintained by the great party which originated them and has thus far sustained them with vigor and success. (Applause.)

"As I have already said, we speak of New York as the great exporting and importing city, and from that perhaps we often give an exaggerated importance, relatively speaking, to our foreign trade, because this magnificent metropolis never would have attained its grandeur and its wealth upon the foreign trade alone. We should never forget, important as that trade is, representing the enormous sum of \$1,500,000,000 annually, that it sinks into insignificance and is dwarfed out of sight when we think of those vast domestic exchanges of which New York is the admitted centre and which annually exceed \$2,000,000,000.
(Applause.)

"Our foreign trade naturally brings to our consideration the foreign relations of this country, so well described by my distinguished friend as always simple and sincere. It is the safeguard of Republics that they are not adapted to war.
(Cheers.) I mean aggressive war. (Cheers.)

And it is the safeguard of this Republic that in a defensive war we can defy the world. (Loud cheering.) This Nation to-day is in profound peace with the world. (Cheers.) But, in my judgment, it has before it a great duty which will not only make that profound peace permanent, but shall set such an example as will absolutely abolish war on this continent, and by a great example and a lofty moral precedent shall ultimately abolish it in other continents. (Great and long-continued cheering.) I am justified in saying that every one of the seventeen independent Powers of North and South America is not only willing but ready—is not only ready but eager—to enter into a solemn compact in a congress that may be called in the name of peace to agree that if, unhappily, differences shall arise—as differences will arise between men and nations—they shall be settled upon the peaceful and Christian basis of arbitration. (Great cheering.)

“And, as I have often said before, I am glad to repeat in this great centre of civilization and power that in my judgment no National spectacle, no international spectacle, no continental spectacle, could be more grand than that the Republics of the Western World should meet together and solemnly agree that neither the soil of North nor that of South America shall be hereafter stained by brothers' blood. (Prolonged cheering.)

"The Republican party, gentlemen, cannot be said to be on trial. (Cheers.) To be on trial implies something to be tried for. ("Right!" "That's so!" and cheers.) The Republican party in its twenty-three years of rulership has advanced the interests of this country far beyond that of any of its predecessors in power. It has elevated the standard of America—it has increased its wealth in a ratio never before realized, and, I may add, never before dreamed of. (Great cheering.)

"Statistics, I know, are dry ; and I have dwelt so much upon them in the last six weeks that they might be supposed to be especially dry to me. And yet I never can forget the eloquence of the figures which tell us that the wealth of this great Empire State when the Republican party took the reins of government was estimated at \$1,800,000,000, and that twenty years afterward, under the influence of an industrial and financial system for which that party is proudly responsible (great applause), under the influence of that industrial and financial system, the same tests which gave you \$1,800,000,000 of property in 1860 gave you \$6,300,000,000 in 1880. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) There has never been in all the history of financial progress—there has never been in all the history of the world—any parallel to this ; and I am sure, gentlemen, that the Republican party is not arrogant nor over-confident

when it claims to itself the credit of organizing and maintaining the industrial system which gave to you and your associates in enterprise the equal and just laws which enable you to make this marvelous progress. (Great cheering.)

"As I have said, that party is not on trial. If it has made mistakes, they have been merged and forgotten in the greater success which has corrected them. (Cheers.) If it has had internal differences, they are laid aside. (Cheers.) If it has had factional strife, I am sure that has ceased. (Renewed cheering.) And I am equally sure that, looking to the history of the past and looking to that great future which we are justified in prophesying, this Imperial State cannot afford to reverse, and therefore will not reverse, those great policies upon which it has grown and advanced from glory to glory. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

"I thank you, gentlemen ; I thank that larger number with whom I have already had the pleasure of exchanging greetings to-day, I thank the ministers, the merchants, the lawyers, the professional men, the mechanics, the laboring men of New York (applause), for a cordial reception, an over-generous welcome, which in all the mutations of my future life will be to me among the proudest and most precious of my memories."

The most important incident of this visit to New York, however, occurred a few hours before this banquet, at ten o'clock on the morning of

October 29th. At that time the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where Mr. Blaine was staying, was visited by hundreds of clergymen of various denominations, who assembled for the purpose of making to him a formal address. The assemblage was called to order by the Rev. Dr. James M. King, one of the foremost ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. Dr. Samuel D. Burchard, a superannuated Presbyterian minister, was made Chairman, and the Rev. Dr. Robert S. McArthur, one of the best-known Baptist preachers of the city, was made Secretary. The following resolutions were then presented by Dr. King, read and unanimously adopted:

“*Resolved*, 1.—That we believe that the triumph of the principles of the Republican party is essential to the welfare of the country and to the preservation of the results of the late civil strife, and consequently that the election of its representatives in the persons of the Hon. James G. Blaine and Gen. John A. Logan is imperative.

“2.—That we believe in the purity of the personal character of these standard-bearers, and also believe in their trained capacity as statesmen to meet the claims of the high offices for which they are in nomination.

“3.—That we protest against the coronation of conceded personal impurity as represented by the head of the Democratic ticket, and, while we deplore the necessity, we do not evade the responsibility of declaring our judgment to the world of this insult to Christian civilization embodied in such nomination for the Presidency of the Republic.

“4.—That we are opposed to putting a premium on disloyalty as presented by the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Democratic party.

“ 5.—That we exhort all well-meaning and loyal citizens, regardless of party, when purity is at stake, not, by voting for the Prohibition candidate, to cast a half-vote for the Democratic party with the semi-sanction of impurity and dissipation, nor to cast a whole vote for a man whose name is now the conspicuous synonym of incapacity and incontinency.

“ 6.—That we exhort our fellow-citizens to cast one vote for virtue in the home, for protection for the rights of the humblest citizens at home and abroad, for protection for American industries, for the settlement of international differences by arbitration, for the war against polygamy, for decent treatment of Indians, for the preservation of the results of the wars of the Revolution and of the Rebellion, for every sacred interest of our beloved country, by voting the Republican ticket at the ensuing election.”

The Chairman then appointed as a committee to receive Mr. Blaine, when he should come before the meeting, Dr. King, Dr. McArthur, the Rev. Dr. Spear, of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Dr. Brown, of the Jewish Church, the Rev. Dr. J. G. Roberts, of the Congregational Church, and Richard Lawrence, of the Society of Friends. The entire body of clergymen then went out into the main corridor of the hotel, and presently Mr. Blaine came down the stairway leaning on the arm of Dr. King. Close behind him were Mrs. Blaine, Walker Blaine, the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Blaine, and the Hon. Levi P. Morton. Mr. Blaine stopped a few steps from the foot of the stairway, and the Rev. Dr. Burchard ascended to his side and addressed him as follows :

"We are very happy to welcome you to this city. You see here a representation of all denominations of this city. You see the large number that are represented. We are your friends, Mr. Blaine, and, notwithstanding all the calumnies that have been urged in the papers against you, we stand by your side. (Shouts of "Amen.") We expect to vote for you next Tuesday. We have higher expectations, which are that you will be the President of the United States, and that you will do honor to your name, to the United States, and to the high office you will occupy. We are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism and Rebellion. We are loyal to our flag. We are loyal to you."

At the words "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion," Mr. Blaine started perceptibly and an expression of pained surprise flashed over his face. But he said nothing at the moment concerning them, and they passed unnoticed by most of those who were present. The other members of the committee then addressed Mr. Blaine briefly, and he responded in the following terms:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND REVEREND GENTLEMEN :—This is altogether a very remarkable assemblage—remarkable beyond any of which I have known in the history of political contests in the United States—and it does not need my personal

assurance that you should know that I am very deeply impressed by it. I do not feel that I am speaking to these hundreds of men merely. I am speaking to the great congregations and the great religious opinion which is behind them, and, as they represent the great Christian bodies, I know and realize the full weight of that which you say to me and of the influence which you tender me. Were it to me personally, I confess that I should be overcome by the compliment and the weight of confidence which it carries, but I know that it is extended to me as the representative of the party whose creed and whose practices are in harmony with the churches. The Republican party, from its very outset, stood upon the impregnable platform of opposition to the extension of human slavery, and stood on that platform till it was drifted by the hostility it provoked into a larger assertion of national sovereignty and thence into a bloody conflict to maintain it. From that onward I defy any man to point to a single measure of the Republican party which could not challenge the approbation of Christian ministers and the approval of God. And when, as one of the reverend speakers has said, I narrowed the issue when I spoke of it (coming down to a question of the tariff), I did not mean to exclude therefrom—I could not mean it—that great history of the party which is its wealth and its creed, and which gives to you and to all that stand behind

you the assurance that, whatever issue it attempts to enforce, it will do it in good faith. They can no more separate a party from its history than you can separate a man from his character, and when the great make-up of public opinion is ready to take into account the origin, progress, the measures, the character of the party, and the character of its public men.

“What I meant by saying that the tariff was the conclusive issue was that it steps to the forefront, not in exclusion of a thousand other important issues ; but for this critical occasion, and at the close of this great campaign, it stands forth as that issue which represents bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and prosperity to the entire people. And the tariff is, therefore, merely as a national issue, distinct and separate from the great moral issues, because, as I have said before Western audiences, I say here, you cannot impress a man if he is hungry with any other thought than that he shall be fed. You cannot impress man if he is naked with any other thought than that he shall be clothed, and therefore that public policy and statesmanship is highest and best that attends to the primary needs of human nature first, and says, here is bread for the hungry, here is clothing for the naked. And the tariff, which protects the American laborer in his wages, the American capitalist in his investments, the inventive talent in the

country in its enterprise, is the issue which lies at the very foundation of the success of the Christian religion. When you send out your missions to the destitute places you clothe the little naked children and give them food at the first step. Therefore, I repeat, that the great conflict of 1884 closes with the people of the United States standing face to face in two parties, saying whether they will adhere to that policy of protection which has trebled the wealth of the United States in twenty years, or whether they will abandon it and return once more to the failing theory of free trade. ("Never! Never!") It involves other issues, too. No nation can grow so powerful as the United States has grown and is growing, continually enlarging its relations with other nations. As these relations become so enlarged they become complicated, and therefore the foreign policy of the United States goes right along with its domestic policy—supplements and complements it—and we cannot in any affair of our destiny and our policy separate one from the other.

"Now, gentleman of the church, I address an earnest word to you. The policy of the United States in the past and in the future must be one of broad, liberal Christian principles, and in that policy it must be one in my judgment which draws nearer within the circle of the sympathies of the United States those other struggling Republics of North and South America, which bring them

first into trade relations and then into close personal and moral relations, and I believe that we shall not only have the great gain that comes from intercourse, but we shall enlarge the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon until its limits shall include the most Southern point of the continent.

"I did not intend, in accepting and acknowledging the great sense of obligation I feel for this honor, to go into a prolonged political speech. I have but indicated two leading points which I think are involved in the pending election. It only remains for me to say to you that I recognize at its full worth—and its full worth is very great—the meaning of this assemblage. We have no union of Church and State, but we have proved that the Church is stronger without the State, and we have proved that no State can be strong without the Church. Let us go forward as we have gone, the State growing and strengthening by the example of the Church, and the Church growing and strengthening by liberal co-operation with all the great reforms which it is the immediate province of the Government to forward and improve. Gentlemen, I thank you again, and bid you a very cordial good-morning."

Hearty cheers were then given by the assembled clergymen for Mr. and Mrs. Blaine, and the remarkable gathering dispersed. On October 30th Mr. Blaine was received at two or three enormous gatherings in Brooklyn and on the following

day one of the largest political parades ever seen in New York City was made in his honor, there being in line organized clubs from Brooklyn, Newark, Albany, Philadelphia and elsewhere. Mr. Blaine then set out for his home in Maine.

Dr. Burchard's unfortunate expression, "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion," did not pass unnoticed by Mr. Blaine's enemies. Up to this point his campaign had been a prosperous one, and had the election been held before Dr. Burchard's speech was made there is no doubt but that he would have been handsomely elected. His despairing enemies grasped with exultant energy at the opportunity which that phrase afforded of alienating some of his supporters. The words were instantly taken up and spread broadcast throughout the country by telegram, in the newspapers, and in printed circulars, as well as by word of mouth. With unblushing mendacity it was asserted that Mr. Blaine himself had uttered the offensive expression. Handbills containing the words, fixing full responsibility for them upon Mr. Blaine, and construing them as an expression of his personal hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, were distributed by tens of thousands to the members of all congregations of that faith. In this way hundreds and perhaps thousands of Roman Catholics were led to abandon their support of Mr. Blaine. By the perversity of fate this incident occurred long enough in advance of the

election to allow these calumnies to be spread throughout the land and to do the mischief that was intended, but not long enough to allow explanation to be made and Mr. Blaine to be vindicated.

On reaching New Haven, on November 1st, Mr. Blaine made the following address referring to this matter :

“There has been placed in my hands since my arrival in New Haven an address from the clergymen of this city expressing their respect and confidence, and, through the person who delivered it, the assurance that in matters of public right and in matters of public participation under the laws and Constitution of the United States they know no sect ; they know no Protestant, no Catholic, no Hebrew, but the equality of all. (“Good!” and cheers.) In the city of Hartford I had a letter put into my hands asking me why I charged the Democratic party with being inspired by rum, Romanism and rebellion. (A voice, “You never said that.”) My answer, in the first place, is that they put in my mouth an unfortunate expression of another man ; and, in the next place, it gives me an opportunity to say, at the close of the campaign, that in public speeches which I have made I have refrained carefully and instinctively from making any disrespectful allusion to the Democratic party. I differ from that party profoundly on matters of principle, but I have too

much respect for the millions of my countrymen whom it embraces to assail it with epithets or abuse. ("Good! Good!" and cheers.) In the next place, I am sure that I am the last man in the United States who would make a disrespectful allusion to another man's religion. The United States guarantees freedom of religious opinion, and before the law and under the Constitution the Protestant and the Catholic and the Hebrew stand entitled to absolutely the same recognition and the same protection (loud cheering); and if disrespectful allusion is here to be made against the religion of any man, as I have said, I am the last man to make it; though Protestant by conviction and connected with a Protestant church, I should esteem myself of all men the most degraded if, under any pressure or under any temptation, I could in any presence make a disrespectful allusion to that ancient faith in which my mother lived and died. (Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering.)

"The question now before the people of the United States is not a religious one. The question to be settled in this election is one that comes home to the door-sill and the fireside of every American citizen. We have enjoyed in this country for the last twenty-three years the advantage of a protective tariff. There is not a man within sound of my voice, there is not a man in Connecticut, there is not a man in New England, there is not

a man in the United States, who is not directly or indirectly interested in the protective tariff. (Cheers.) I see before me a large assemblage, including, doubtless, many who earn their bread in the sweat of their faces, and to whom the daily wages of labor is a matter of great importance. I beg to remind them that the only agency which secures them higher wages for their labor than a man in the British Isles receives for the same labor, is the protective tariff. (Cheers.) When I look abroad in the State, and when I examine your statistics, I find that Connecticut has doubled its wealth in the last twenty years, and I submit that that rapid ratio of increase in thrift, independence and progress is a direct result of the protective tariff. (Loud cheering.) So that every man, whether he be a capitalist or laborer, whether he be manufacturer or operative, finds that the question of protecting American industry enters into the warp and woof of his daily life. The Republican party is nothing if it is not protective; it is a cardinal doctrine in the creed of the Republican party that a protective tariff shall be maintained (cheers), and it has been the invariable practice of the Democratic party in Congress for more than fifty years past to oppose the policy of protection. Times have been dull for some months past. Why? Clearly because of the uncertainty created in the business world by the agitation in Congress last winter of the



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tariff question, and the fact that the Democratic party came within two votes of destroying the protective tariff. Is there any man who doubts that, with the free trade theories of the Democrats, if they were elevated to power the protective tariff would be destroyed? If any man doubts that he doubts his senses; he denies the record; he will not listen to plain facts. The omens in the present contest are to be spoken of by you, not by me; but there are one or two things connected with it which I beg to refer to. I beg especially to refer to the fact that, in a larger degree than in any other campaign of which I have personal knowledge, the Republican party has the inestimable advantage of the sympathy and support of the great mass of the young men of the country (cheers), and the young men carry with them strength, confidence, the power to bear burdens and the power to give encouragement to others. The Republican party began its existence thirty years ago with the support of the young men. Twenty-eight years ago, before many who now hear me knew anything of political contests, that party entered the field for the first time in a National struggle. It selected a young man for its leader; it selected a man in his forty-third year—the same age at which Washington was intrusted with the command of the Continental Army—a young man of great zeal, of great intelligence and of a career so heroic

that it partook largely of romance. Under his leadership the Republican party, in its very first National contest, alarmed if it did not defeat our opponents. Since then, twenty-eight years have been added to his age, bringing it up to the Psalmist's limit—three score years and ten ; but he is still fresh and vigorous in body and in mind, still warm in his support of the Republican party, and it is my especial pleasure to-day that I can, as I now do, introduce to you General John C. Fremont." (Prolonged cheering.)

Malice had done its mischief, however, and it could not be undone. Mr. Blaine returned to his home at Augusta, receiving an imposing reception at Boston on the way. The election occurred on November 4th. The result turned upon the vote of New York State, and for some days that was in doubt. After an inexplicable delay on the part of the Democratic officers of election, a delay during which grave suspicions arose that the returns were being tampered with and falsified, it was announced that Mr. Cleveland had carried the State by a narrow margin of 1,047 votes. The popular vote for the two candidates in the various States was as follows :

STATES.	BLAINE.	CLEVELAND.
Alabama,	59,591	93,951
Arkansas,	50,895	72,927
California,	102,416	89,288
Colorado,	36,290	27,723
Connecticut,	65,923	67,199

STATES.	BLAINE.	CLEVELAND.
Delaware,	12,951	16,964
Florida,	28,031	31,766
Georgia,	48,603	94,667
Illinois,	337,474	312,355
Indiana,	238,463	244,990
Iowa,	197,089	177,316
Kansas,	154,406	90,132
Kentucky,	118,122	152,961
Louisiana,	46,347	62,540
Maine,	72,209	52,140
Maryland,	85,699	96,932
Massachusetts,	146,724	122,481
Michigan,	192,669	149,835
Minnesota,	111,923	70,144
Mississippi,	43,509	76,510
Missouri,	202,929	235,988
Nebraska,	76,912	54,391
Nevada,	7,193	5,578
New Hampshire,	43,249	39,183
New Jersey,	123,440	127,798
New York,	562,005	563,154
North Carolina,	125,068	142,952
Ohio,	400,082	368,280
Oregon,	26,860	24,604
Pennsylvania,	473,804	392,785
Rhode Island,	19,030	12,391
South Carolina,	21,733	69,890
Tennessee,	124,078	133,258
Texas,	93,141	225,309
Vermont,	39,514	17,331
Virginia,	139,356	145,497
West Virginia,	63,096	67,317
Wisconsin,	161,157	146,459

Mr. Blaine thus received a total of 4,851,981 votes or 48.22 per cent. of the whole; Mr. Cleveland received 4,874,986 votes, or 48.48 per cent. General Benjamin F. Butler, who was the Presidential candidate of the Greenback-Labor party,

received 175,370 votes, and Mr. John P. St. John, the candidate of the Prohibition party, 150,369. Mr. Cleveland thus had a plurality of 23,005, but failed to receive a clear majority of the popular vote. In the electoral college Mr. Blaine received 182 votes and Mr. Cleveland 219.

This defeat was a bitter disappointment to Mr. Blaine, and a still more bitter disappointment to his millions of admirers and supporters throughout the country. It was exasperating to think that he had been defeated through the malicious interpretation of a stupid remark made by a purblind old gentleman at the very end of the campaign. But even more serious consideration was demanded by the fact that in this, as in all other elections since 1876, force and fraud carried the day in a number of the Southern States, so that their votes were counted for the candidate of the party that was really in the minority. This subject had frequently been discussed with telling force by Mr. Blaine in the two Houses of Congress, and he referred to it once more in calm and temperate yet unmistakably emphatic terms in the following address, which he made at Augusta, on November 18th, to a great throng of his fellow-townsmen, who visited him to express their confidence and esteem :

“FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS :—The National contest is over, and by the narrowest of margins we have lost. I thank you for your call, which if not

one of joyous congratulations, is one, I am sure, of confidence and of sanguine hope for the future. I thank you for the public opportunity you give me to express my sense of obligation, not only to you, but to all the Republicans of Maine. They responded to my nomination with genuine enthusiasm and ratified it by a superb vote. I count it as one of the honors and gratifications of my public career that the party in Maine, after struggling hard for the last six years, and twice within that period losing the State, has come back in this campaign to the old-fashioned 20,000 plurality. No other expression of popular confidence and esteem could equal that of the people among whom I have lived for thirty years, and to whom I am attached by all the ties that ennoble human nature and give joy and dignity to life.

“After Maine—indeed, along with Maine—my first thought is always of Pennsylvania. How can I fittingly express my thanks for that unparalleled majority of more than 80,000 votes—a popular indorsement which has deeply touched my heart, and which has, if possible, increased my affection for the grand old Commonwealth; an affection which I inherited from my ancestry, and which I shall transmit to my children?

“But I do not limit my thanks to the State of my residence and the State of my birth. I owe much to the true and zealous friends in New England, who worked so nobly for the Republican

party and its candidates, and to the eminent scholars and divines who, stepping aside from their ordinary avocations, made my cause their cause, and to loyalty to principle added the special compliment of standing as my representative in the National struggle.

“But the achievements for the Republican cause in the East are even surpassed by the splendid victories in the West. In that magnificent cordon of States that stretches from the foot-hills of the Alleghenies to the Golden Gate of the Pacific, beginning with Ohio and ending with California, the Republican banner was borne so loftily that but a single State failed to join in the wild acclaim of triumph. Nor should I do justice to my own feelings if I failed to thank the Republicans of the Empire State, who encountered so many discouragements and obstacles, who fought foes from within and foes from without, and who waged so strong a battle that a change of one vote in every 2,000 would have given us the victory in the Nation. Indeed, a change of a little more than 5,000 votes would have transferred New York, Indiana, New Jersey and Connecticut to the Republican standard, and would have made the North as solid as the South.

“My thanks would still be incomplete if I should fail to recognize with special gratitude that great body of working men, both native and foreign born, who gave me their earnest support, breaking

from old personal and party ties, and finding in the principles which I represented in the canvass the safeguard and protection of their own fireside interests.

“The result of the election, my friends, will be regarded in the future, I think, as extraordinary. The Northern States, leaving out the cities of New York and Brooklyn from the count, sustained the Republican cause by a majority of more than 400,000—almost half a million, indeed—of the popular vote. The cities of New York and Brooklyn threw their great strength and influence with the solid South, and were the decisive element which gave to that section the control of the National Government. Speaking now not at all as a defeated candidate, but simply as a loyal and devoted American, I think the transfer of the political power of the Government to the South is a great National misfortune. It is a misfortune because it introduces an element which cannot insure harmony and prosperity to the people, because it introduces into a Republic the rule of a minority. The first instinct of an American is equality—equality of right, equality of privilege, equality of political power—that equality which says to every citizen, ‘Your vote is just as good, just as potential, as the vote of any other citizen.’ That cannot be said to-day in the United States.

“The course of affairs in the South has crushed out the political power of more than 6,000,000

American citizens, and has transferred it by violence to others. Forty-two Presidential Electors are assigned to the South on account of the colored population, and yet the colored population, with more than 1,100,000 legal votes, have been unable to choose a single Elector. Even in those States where they have a majority of more than a hundred thousand they are deprived of free suffrage, and their rights as citizens are scornfully trodden under foot. The eleven States that comprised the Rebel Confederacy had, by the census of 1880, 7,500,000 of white population and 5,300,000 colored population. The colored population, almost to a man, desire to support the Republican party, but by a system of cruel intimidation and by violence and murder, whenever violence and murder are thought necessary, they are absolutely deprived of all political power. If the outrage stopped there, it would be bad enough ; but it does not stop there, for not only is the negro population disfranchised, but the power which rightfully and constitutionally belongs to it is transferred to the white population, enabling the white population of the South to exert an Electoral influence far beyond that exerted by the same number of white people in the North.

“ To illustrate just how it works to the destruction of all fair elections, let me present to you five States in the late Confederacy and five loyal States of the North, possessing in each section

the same number of Electoral votes. In the South the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina have in the aggregate forty-eight Electoral votes. They have 2,800,000 white people, and over 3,000,000 colored people. In the North the States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas and California have likewise in the aggregate forty-eight Electoral votes, and they have a white population of 5,600,000, or just double the five Southern States which I have named. These Northern States have practically no colored population. It is therefore evident that the white men in those Southern States by usurping and absorbing the rights of the colored men are exerting just double the political power of the white men in the Northern States. I submit, my friends, that such a condition of affairs is extraordinary, unjust, and derogatory to the manhood of the North. Even those who are vindictively opposed to negro suffrage will not deny that if Presidential Electors are assigned to the South by reason of the negro population that population ought to be permitted free suffrage in the election. To deny that clear proposition is to affirm that a Southern white man in the Gulf States is entitled to double the political power of a Northern white man in the Lake States. It is to affirm that a Confederate soldier shall wield twice the influence in the Nation that a Union soldier can, and that a perpetual and

constantly increasing superiority shall be conceded to the Southern white man in the Government of the Union. If that be quietly conceded in this generation it will harden into custom, until the badge of inferiority will attach to the Northern white man as odiously as ever Norman noble stamped it upon Saxon churl.

“This subject is of deep interest to the laboring men of the North. With the Southern Democracy triumphant in their States and in the nation, the negro will be compelled to work for just such wages as the whites may decree ; wages which will amount, as did the supplies of the slaves, to a bare subsistence, equal in cash to perhaps 35 cents per day, if averaged over the entire South. The white laborer in the North will soon feel the distinctive effect of this upon his own wages. The Republicans have clearly seen from the earliest days of reconstruction that wages in the South must be raised to a just recompense of the laborer or wages in the North ruinously lowered, and the party have steadily worked for the former result. The reverse influence will now be set in motion, and that condition of affairs produced which years ago Mr. Lincoln warned the free laboring men of the North will prove hostile to their independence, and will inevitably lead to a ruinous reduction of wages. A mere difference of the color of the skin will not suffice to maintain an entirely different standard.

in wages of contiguous and adjacent States, and the voluntary will be compelled to yield to the involuntary. So completely have the colored men in the South been already deprived by the Democratic party of their constitutional and legal right as citizens of the United States that they regard the advent of that party to National power as the signal of their enslavement, and are affrighted because they think all legal protection for them is gone.

“Few persons in the North realize how completely the chiefs of the Rebellion wield the political power which has triumphed in the late election. It is a portentous fact that the Democratic Senators who come from the States of the late Confederacy, all—and I mean all without a single exception—personally participated in the Rebellion against the National Government. It is a still more significant fact that in those States no man who was loyal to the Union, no matter how strong a Democrat he may be to-day, has the slightest chance of political promotion. The one great avenue to honor in that section is the record of zealous service in the war against the Government. It is certainly an astounding fact that the section in which friendship for the Union in the day of its trial and agony is still a political disqualification should be called now to rule over the Union. All this takes place during the lifetime of the generation that fought

the war, and elevates into practical command of the American Government the identical men who organized for its destruction and plunged us into the bloodiest contest of modern times.

"I have spoken of the South as placed by the late election in possession of the Government, and I mean all that my words imply. The South furnished nearly three-fourths of the Electoral votes that defeated the Republican party, and they will step to the command of the Democrats as unchallenged and as unrestrained as they held the same position for thirty years before the war.

"Gentlemen, there cannot be political inequality among the citizens of a free Republic; there cannot be a minority of white men in the South ruling a majority of white men in the North. Patriotism, self-respect, pride, protection for person and safety for country all cry out against it. The very thought of it stirs the blood of men who inherit equality from the Pilgrims who first stood on Plymouth Rock, and from liberty-loving patriots who came to the Delaware with William Penn. It becomes the primal question of American manhood. It demands a hearing and a settlement, and that settlement will vindicate the equality of American citizens in all personal and civil rights. It will, at least, establish the equality of white men under the National Government, and will give to the Northern man, who fought to

preserve the Union, as large a voice in its government as may be exercised by the Southern man who fought to destroy the Union.

“The contest just closed utterly dwarfs the fortunes and fates of candidates, whether successful or unsuccessful. Purposely—I may say instinctively—I have discussed the issues and consequences of that contest without reference to my own defeat, without the remotest reference to the gentleman who is elevated to the Presidency. Towards him personally I have no cause for the slightest ill-will, and it is with cordiality I express the wish that his official career may prove gratifying to himself and beneficial to the country, and that his administration may overcome the embarrassments which the peculiar source of its power imposes upon it from the hour of its birth.”

During the administration of President Cleveland, which began on March 4, 1885, Mr. Blaine remained in private life. Some of his time was spent in literary work and some in European travel. He spent much time in Great Britain, France and Italy, and was everywhere received with the utmost respect, and treated more as though he were the sovereign head of a great nation than a mere private citizen. He took a keen interest in the progress of political affairs in the United States, and frequently expressed his views on important issues of the day with characteristic lucidity and force. The Republican party was

overwhelmingly determined to make him its candidate a second time, in 1888, and although he did not personally favor this plan, and was indeed, on account of impaired health, inclined to retire from active participation in public affairs, popular enthusiasm in his behalf and determination to place him at last in the White House, grew steadily month by month, and year by year.

CHAPTER XVI.

A CHALLENGE AND ITS ANSWER.

Free Trade Brought Forward as the Leading Issue of the Democratic Party—President Cleveland's Message on the Subject in December, 1887—Text of the Document that Sounded the Key-note of the Coming Campaign—A Prompt Reply by Mr. Blaine by Cable from Paris—Report of the Memorable Interview between Mr. Blaine and Mr. George W. Smalley—Its Effect upon Public Opinion and Politics in the United States.

President Cleveland had, before taking office, expressed an emphatic opinion against the re-election of a President for a second term. But as his own term of office drew toward its close it was apparent, and was universally understood, that he was a candidate for re-nomination and re-election. During the first two and a half years of his administration nothing had occurred greatly to strengthen his hold upon public favor. His management of the Executive office had been in the main acceptable. His political opponents had, of course, sharply criticised him, but his own party almost unanimously gave him earnest support. It was desirable that some important issue should be brought forward prominently on which the campaign of 1888 should be fought. Such an issue the leaders of the Democratic party found in the fiscal system of the Nation.

Under the protective tariff, adopted by the Republican party in 1861, and maintained with various modifications down to the present time, the National finances had been eminently prosperous. The great war debt had been largely reduced, specie payments had been resumed, and the credit of the Government was unequalled in the money markets of the world. Liberal appropriations had been made for public works of National importance, for pensions to disabled soldiers and their families, and for the redemption of Government bonds. At the same time, so great was the business prosperity of the country and the consequent revenues of the Government that a very considerable surplus had accumulated in the National Treasury. This was seized upon by Mr. Cleveland and his party associates as the issue for the next campaign. They argued that the surplus revenue was far too large: that the accumulation of such a vast sum of money in the National Treasury not only invited corruption, but was a direct injury to business: that it was a robbery of the people to tax them on their imports so largely beyond the needs of the Government; and that therefore the tariff should be so reduced as to reduce the revenue immediately to the actual needs of the Government, and to abolish the surplus. There should be no other words, a tariff for revenue only, and not for protection. That would amount



BLAINE'S RESIDENCE AT BAR HARBOR, MAINE.

to free trade, as that term is understood in England.

A considerable portion of the Democratic party was strongly opposed to such a policy. But the overwhelming majority of those in Congress, led by Mr. Carlisle, the Speaker of the House, and Mr. Mills, the Leader on the Floor of the House, favored it, and their counsel prevailed with the President. On the meeting of Congress, in December, 1887, accordingly, he sent in a message, devoted, not to a general review of the interests of the country, as was customary, but exclusively to a discussion of the one subject of the surplus revenue and the need of tariff reform. As a matter of record, and to enable the reader, comprehensively and exactly, to understand the attitude thereafter taken by Mr. Blaine and the arguments put forward by him, the text of the message is herewith given in full :

To the Congress of the United States.—You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the National finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion, and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong, inflicted upon those who bear the burden of National taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our National energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

This condition of our Treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and widespread disaster.

It will not do to neglect the situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and

apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking-fund act, was \$17,859,735.84; during the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20; and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54.

The annual contributions to the sinking fund during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,058,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent. bonds of the Government. During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people, would so affect the business of the country, that the sum of \$79,864,100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three per cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the Government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three per cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of

\$18,877,500, were called in and applied to the sinking-fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department, representations of distress in business circles not only continued but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of Government bonds not yet due bearing four and four and a-half per cent. interest, the premium paid thereon averaging about twenty-four per cent. for the former and eight per cent. for the latter. In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the Government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

While the expedients thus employed, to release to the people the money lying idle in the Treasury, served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the 1st day of December to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the Treasury to \$140,000,000.

- There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from the use of the people's circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause. And while the functions of our National Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the Government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three per cent. bonds, which were payable at the option of the Government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues ; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made for the current year, so that there is no outlet in that direction.

In the present state of legislation the only pretence of any existing executive power to restore, at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the Government not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago ; and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority. No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official, upon his judgment of its necessity, to withhold from or release to the business of the people, in an unusual manner, money held in the Treasury, and thus affect, at his will, the financial situation of the country ; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided, as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the Treasury, it should be

borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the Government.

It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest, and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds; and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the Government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment, instead of extending it.

The proposition to deposit the money held by the Government in banks throughout the country, for use by the people, is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the Government Treasury and the business of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted, it should only be done as a

temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction, and should have a tendency to divorce, as much and as fast as can safely be done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, beside the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purpose of our Government.

I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment, which taxed to the uttermost all the authority and expedients within executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest
re it belongs.

Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparant cause, constantly reproducing the same alarming circumstances—a congested National Treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public Treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal-revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal-revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and

subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government's income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufactures. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws, should be devised with especial precaution against imperilling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which, without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there existed an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

We are in the midst of centennial celebrations and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and

enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century's national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for government regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our working men employed in manufactories, than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries, 7,670,493 are employed in

agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers), while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should not be deducted from these which it includes, 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers

with the rest ; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the working man or the lessening of his wages ; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employees either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged, in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits, the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

The farmer and the agriculturist, who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes upon every agricultural

implement, upon all he wears, and upon all he uses and owns except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They, of course, are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woollen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow-farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus, as consumers, must return their share this increased price to the tradesman.

I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield, is ten cents each pound if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece, the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this may be taken as the utmost

enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep, and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep ; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it, until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the meantime the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woollen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return, in the way of increased prices, his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then, perhaps, lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which when he sold his wool seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep



WALTER JAMES SMITH

away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff becomes a burden upon those with moderate means, and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply

and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the price of any particular dutiable article of home production below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative ; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus where either of these conditions exists, a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our custom duties, and at the same time to emphasize a suggestion that, in accomplishing this purpose, we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it

is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

These interests constitute a leading and most substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self-interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, affords no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable belief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessities of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is, of course, an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free

importation, would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have an opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employees more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship, and considered in the light of that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction ; and neither as citizens nor partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our working men need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

The Constitution provides that the President “shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union.” It has

been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail, with some particularity, the operations of the different Executive Departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time, and to call attention to the valuable accomplishments of these Departments during the last fiscal year. But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the "state of the Union" as shown in the present condition of our Treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

The reports of the heads of Departments, which will be submitted, contain full and explicit information touching the transaction of the business intrusted to them, and such recommendations relating to legislation in the public interest as they deem advisable. I ask for these reports and recommendations the deliberate examination and action of the Legislative branch of the Government.

There are other subjects not embraced in the departmental reports demanding legislative consideration and which I should be glad to submit.

Some of them, however, have been earnestly presented in previous messages, and as to them, I beg leave to repeat prior recommendations.

As the law makes no provision for any report from the Department of State, a brief history of the transactions of that important Department, together with other matters which it may hereafter be deemed essential to commend to the attention of the Congress, may furnish the occasion for a future communication.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1887.

The effect of this message was instantaneous and tremendous. Seldom has any American public document in time of peace produced such a sensation. It was regarded as expressing the principles on which Mr. Cleveland would appeal to the country for re-election to the Presidency, and on which the financial legislation of the Congress during that session would be based. As for the Republicans, they greeted it with satisfaction, for the tariff was the very issue on which they were most anxious to fight the next campaign.

It was necessary that some conspicuous Republican leader should, however, make immediate and effective answer to Mr. Cleveland's impressive utterances. The foremost leader of the party was unquestionably Mr. Blaine. He was, moreover, in an especial sense the proper man to

make answer to Mr. Cleveland, as he had been his rival in the Presidential campaign of 1884. Mr. Blaine was at the time in Paris. But distance did not prevent him from promptly accepting Mr. Cleveland's challenge and making his answer thereto, both personally and as the leader and spokesman of the Republican party.

A very complete abstract of the President's message was, of course, immediately transmitted by cable to Europe and published in all important papers there. That was on the morning of December 7th, the message having been presented to Congress at Washington on the afternoon of December 6th. On the very day of its publication in Europe, Mr. George W. Smalley, the well-known London correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, called on Mr. Blaine in Paris and asked him if he would be willing to give his views of the President's Message for publication, in the form of a letter or an interview. Mr. Blaine replied in the affirmative, saying that he would prefer an interview. Accordingly an expert stenographer was called in to take down Mr. Blaine's words as he should reply to the various questions of the correspondent. Mr. Blaine began by saying :

"I have been reading an abstract of the President's message and have been especially interested in the comments of the London papers. Those papers all assume to declare the message is a free trade manifesto and evidently are anticipating an

enlarged market for English fabrics in the United States as a consequence of the President's recommendations. Perhaps that fact stamped the character of the message more clearly than any words of mine can."

"You don't mean actual free trade without duty?" queried the reporter.

"No," replied Mr. Blaine. "Nor do the London papers mean that. They simply mean that the President has recommended what in the United States is known as a revenue tariff, rejecting the protective feature as an object and not even permitting protection to result freely as an incident to revenue duties. I mean, that for the first time in the history of the United States the President recommends retaining the internal tax in order that the tariff may be forced down even below the fair revenue standard. He recommends that the tax on tobacco be retained, and thus that many millions annually shall be levied on a domestic product which would far better come from a tariff on foreign fabrics."

"Then do you mean to imply that you would favor the repeal of the tobacco tax?"

"Certainly; I mean just that," said Mr. Blaine. "I should urge that it be done at once, even before the Christmas holidays. It would in the first place bring great relief to growers of tobacco all over the country, and would, moreover, materially lessen the price of the article to consumers.

Tobacco to millions of men is a necessity. The President calls it a luxury, but it is a luxury in no other sense than tea and coffee are luxuries. It is well to remember that the luxury of yesterday becomes a necessity of to-day. Watch, if you please, the number of men at work on the farm, in the coal-mine, along the railroad, in the iron foundry, or in any calling, and you will find 95 in 100 chewing while they work. After each meal the same proportion seek the solace of a pipe or a cigar. These men not only pay the millions of the tobacco tax, but pay on every plug and every cigar an enhanced price which the tax enables the manufacturer and retailer to impose. The only excuse for such a tax is the actual necessity under which the Government found itself during the war, and the years immediately following. To retain the tax now in order to destroy the protection which would incidentally flow from raising the same amount of money on foreign imports is certainly a most extraordinary policy for our Government."

"Well, then, Mr. Blaine, would you advise the repeal of the whiskey tax also?"

"No, I would not. Other considerations than those of financial administration are to be taken into account with regard to whiskey. There is a moral side to it. To cheapen the price of whiskey is to increase its consumption enormously. There would be no sense in urging the

reform wrought by high license in many States if the National Government neutralizes the good effect by making whiskey within reach of every one at twenty cents a gallon. Whiskey would be everywhere distilled if the surveillance of the Government were withdrawn by the remission of the tax, and illicit sales could not then be prevented even by a policy as rigorous and searching as that with which Russia pursues the Nihilists. It would destroy high license at once in all the States.

“Whiskey has done a vast deal of harm in the United States. I would try to make it do some good. I would use the tax to fortify our cities on the seaboard. In view of the powerful letter addressed to the Democratic party on the subject of fortifications by the late Mr. Samuel J. Tilden in 1885, I am amazed that no attention has been paid to the subject by the Democratic Administration. Never before in the history of the world has any government allowed great cities on the seaboard, like New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and San Francisco, to remain absolutely defenceless.”

“But,” said the reporter, “you don’t think we are to have war in any direction?”

“Certainly not,” said Mr. Blaine. “Neither, I presume, did Mr. Tilden when he wrote his remarkable letter. But we should change a remote chance into an absolute impossibility. If our

weak and exposed points were strongly fortified, if to-day we had by any chance even such a war as we had with Mexico, our enemy could procure ironclads in Europe that would menace our great cities with destruction or lay them under contribution."

"But would not our fortifying now possibly look as if we expected war?"

"Why should it any more than the fortifications made seventy or eighty years ago by our grandfathers when they guarded themselves against successful attack from the armaments of that day? We don't necessarily expect a burglar because we lock our doors at night, but if by any possibility a burglar comes it contributes vastly to our peace of mind and our sound sleep to feel that he can't get in."

"But after the fortifications should be constructed would you still maintain the tax on whiskey?"

"Yes," said Mr. Blaine, "so long as there is whiskey to tax I would tax it, and when the National Government should have no use for the money I would divide the tax among the members of the Federal Union with the specific object of lightening the tax on real estate. The houses and farms of the whole country pay too large a proportion of the total taxes. If ultimately relief could be given in that direction it would, in my judgment, be a wise and beneficent policy. Some

honest but misguided friends of temperance have urged that the Government should not use the money derived from the tax on whiskey. My reply is that the tax on whiskey by the Federal Government, with its suppression of all illicit distillation and consequent enhancement of price, has been a powerful agent in the temperance reform by putting it beyond the reach of so many. The amount of whiskey consumed in the United States *per capita* to-day is not more than forty per cent. of that consumed thirty years ago."

After a few moments' silence Mr. Blaine added that in his judgment the whiskey tax should be so modified as to permit all who use pure alcohol in the arts or in mechanical pursuits to have it free of tax. In all such cases the tax could be remitted without danger of fraud, just as now the tax on spirits exported is remitted.

"Besides your general and sweeping opposition to the President's recommendation have you any further specific objection?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Blaine; "I should seriously object to the repeal of the duty on wool. To repeal that would work great injustice to many interests and would seriously discourage what we should earnestly encourage, namely, the sheep culture among farmers throughout the Union. To break down wool-growing and be dependent on foreign countries for the blanket under which we sleep and the coat that covers our backs is not

a wise policy for the National Government to enforce."

"Do you think if the President's recommendation were adopted it would increase our export trade?"

"Possibly in some few articles of peculiar construction it might, but it would increase our import trade ten-fold as much in the great staple fabrics, in woolen and cotton goods, in iron, in steel, in all the thousand and one shapes in which they are wrought. How are we to export staple fabrics to the markets of Europe unless we make them cheaper than they do in Europe, and how are we to manufacture them cheaper than they do in Europe unless we get cheaper labor than they have in Europe?"

"Then you think that the question of labor underlies the whole subject?"

"Of course it does," replied Mr. Blaine. "It is, in fact, the entire question. Whenever we can force carpenters, masons, ironworkers and mechanics in every department to work as cheaply and live as poorly in the United States as similar workmen in Europe, we can, of course, manufacture just as cheaply as they do in England and France. But I am totally opposed to a policy that would entail such results. To attempt it is equivalent to a social and financial revolution, one that would bring untold distress."

"Yes, but might not the great farming class be benefited by importing articles from Europe,

instead of buying them at higher prices at home?"

"The moment," answered Mr. Blaine, "you begin to import freely from Europe you drive our own workmen from mechanical and manufacturing pursuits. In the same proportion they become tillers of the soil, increasing steadily the agricultural product and decreasing steadily the large home demand, which is constantly enlarging as home manufactures enlarge. That, of course, works great injury to the farmer, glutting the market with his products and tending constantly to lower prices."

"Yes, but the foreign demand for farm products would be increased in like ratio, would it not?"

"Even suppose it were," said Mr. Blaine, "how do you know the source from which it will be supplied? The tendency in Russia to-day and in the Asiatic possessions of England is toward a large increase of the grain supply, the grain being raised by the cheapest possible labor. Manufacturing countries will buy their breadstuffs where they can get them cheapest, and the enlarging of the home market for the American farmer being checked he would search in vain for one of the same value. His foreign sales are already checked by the great competition abroad. There never was a time when the increase of a large home market was so valuable to him. The best proof is that the farmers are prosperous in proportion to the nearness of manufacturing centres,



PRESIDENT HARRISON.

and a protective tariff tends to spread manufactures. In Ohio and Indiana, for example, though not classed as manufacturing States, the annual value of fabrics is larger than the annual value of agricultural products."

"But those holding the President's views," remarked the reporter, "are always quoting the great prosperity of the country under the tariff of 1846."

"That tariff did not involve the one destructive point recommended by the President, namely, the retaining of direct internal taxes in order to abolish indirect taxes levied on foreign fabrics. But the country had peculiar advantages under it by the Crimean war, involving England, France and Russia, and largely impairing their trade. All these incidents, or accidents, if you choose, were immensely stimulating to trade in the United States, regardless of the nature of our tariff. But mark the end of this European experience with the tariff of 1846, which for a time gave an illusory and deceptive show of prosperity. Its enactment was immediately followed by the Mexican war; then in 1848 by the great convulsions of Europe; then in 1849 and succeeding years by the enormous gold yield in California. The Powers made peace in 1856, and at the same time the output of gold in California fell off. Immediately the financial panic of 1857 came upon the country with disastrous force. Though we

had in these years mined a vast amount of gold in California, every bank in New York was compelled to suspend specie payment. Four hundred millions in gold had been carried out of the country in eight years to pay for foreign goods that should have been manufactured at home, and we had years of depression and distress as an atonement for our folly.

"It is remarkable that President Polk recommended the tariff of 1846 on precisely the same ground that President Cleveland recommends a similar enactment now, namely, the surplus in the Treasury was menacing the prosperity of the country. History is repeating itself. By the way," Mr. Blaine added, after a moment's reflection, "it is worth notice that Mr. Polk insisted on emptying the Treasury by a free-trade tariff, then immediately rushed the country into debt by borrowing \$150,000,000 for the Mexican war. I trust nothing may occur to repeat so disastrous a sequel to the policy recommended by President Cleveland. But the uniform fate has been for fifty years past that the Democratic party when it goes out of power always leaves an empty Treasury, and when it returns to power always finds a full Treasury."

"Then do you mean to imply that there should be no reduction of the National revenue?"

"No, what I have said implies the reverse. I would reduce it by a prompt repeal of the tobacco tax and would make here and there some changes

in the tariff not to reduce protection, but wisely foster it. No great system of revenue like our tariff can operate with efficiency and equity unless the changes of trade be closely watched and the law promptly adapted to those changes. But I would make no change that should impair the protective character of the whole body of the tariff laws. Four years ago, in the Act of 1883, we made changes of the character I have tried to indicate. If such changes were made, and the fortifying of our seacoast thus undertaken at a very moderate annual outlay, no surplus would be found after that already accumulated had been disposed of. The outlay of money on fortifications, while doing great service to the country, would give good work to many men."

"But what about the existing surplus?"

"The abstract of the message I have seen," replied Mr. Blaine, "contains no reference to that point. I, therefore, make no comment further than to endorse Mr. Fred Grant's remark that a surplus is always easier to handle than a deficit."

The reporter repeated the question whether the President's recommendation would not, if adopted, give us the advantage of a large increase in exports.

"I only repeat," answered Mr. Blaine, "that it would vastly enlarge our imports, while the only export it would seriously increase would be our gold and silver. That would flow out bounteously just as it did under the tariff of 1846. The

President's recommendation enacted into law would result as did an experiment in drainage of a man who wished to turn a swamp into a productive field. He dug a drain to a neighboring river, but it happened, unfortunately, that the level of the river was higher than the level of the swamp. The consequence need not be told. A parallel would be found when the President's policy in attempting to open a channel for an increase of exports should simply succeed in making way for a deluging inflow of fabrics to the destruction of home industry."

"But don't you think it important to increase our export trade?"

"Undoubtedly; but it is vastly more important not to lose our own great market for our own people in the vain effort to reach the impossible. It is not our foreign trade that has caused the wonderful growth and expansion of the republic. It is the vast domestic trade between thirty-eight States and eight Territories, with their population of, perhaps, 62,000,000 to-day. The whole amount of our export and import trade together has never, I think, reached \$1,900,000,000 any one year. Our internal home trade on 130,000 miles of railway, along 15,000 miles of ocean coast, over the five great lakes and along 20,000 miles of navigable rivers, reaches the enormous annual aggregate of more than \$40,000,000,000, and perhaps this year \$50,000,000,000.

"It is into this illimitable trade, even now in its infancy and destined to attain a magnitude not dreamed of twenty years ago, that the Europeans are struggling to enter. It is the heritage of the American people, of their children and of their children's children. It gives an absolutely free trade over a territory nearly as large as all Europe, and the profit is all our own. The genuine Free-Trader appears unable to see or comprehend that this continental trade—not our exchanges with Europe—is the great source of our prosperity. President Cleveland now plainly proposes a policy that will admit Europe to a share of this trade."

"But you are in favor of extending our foreign trade, are you not?"

"Certainly I am, in all practical and advantageous ways, but not on the principle of the Free-Traders, by which we shall be constantly exchanging dollar for dime. Moreover, the foreign trade is often very delusive. Cotton is manufactured in the city of my residence. If a box of cotton goods is sent 200 miles to the province of New-Brunswick, it is foreign trade. If shipped 17,000 miles round Cape Horn to Washington Territory, it is domestic trade. The magnitude of the Union and the immensity of its internal trade require a new political economy. The treatises written for European States do not grasp our peculiar situation."

"How will the President's message be taken in the South?" "I don't dare to answer that question,

The truth has been so long obscured by certain local questions of unreasoning prejudice that nobody can hope for industrial enlightenment among their leaders just yet. But in my view the South above all sections of the Union needs a protective tariff. The two Virginias, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia have enormous resources and facilities for developing and handling manufactures. They cannot do anything without protection. Even progress so vast as some of those States have made will be checked if the President's message is enacted into law. Their Senators and Representatives can prevent it, but they are so used to following anything labelled 'Democratic' that very probably they will follow the President and blight the progress already made. By the time some of the Southern States get free iron ore and coal, while tobacco is taxed, they may have occasion to sit down and calculate the value of Democratic free trade to their local interests."

"Will not the President's recommendation to admit raw material find strong support?"

"Not by wise Protectionists in our time. Perhaps some greedy manufacturers may think that with free coal or free iron ore they can do great things, but if they should succeed in trying, will, as the boys say, catch it on the rebound. If the home trade in raw material is destroyed or seriously injured railroads will be the first to feel it.

If that vast interest is crippled in any direction the financial fabric of the whole country will feel it quickly and seriously. If any man can give a reason why we should arrange the tariff to favor the raw material of other countries in a competition against our material of the same kind, I should like to hear it. Should that recommendation of the President be approved it would turn 100,000 American laborers out of employment before it had been a year in operation."

"What must be the marked and general effect of the President's message?"

"It will bring the country where it ought to be brought—to a full and fair contest on the question of protection. The President himself makes it the one issue by presenting no other in his message. I think it well to have the question settled. The Democratic party in power is a standing menace to the industrial prosperity of the country. That menace should be removed or the policy it foreshadows should be made certain. Nothing is so mischievous to business as uncertainty, nothing so paralyzing as doubt."

This interview was published in New York on December 8th, the very day after the publication of President Cleveland's message. The Republican party hailed it with delight, as a most effective reply to the Democratic pronunciamento; and on that date the issues were joined and the Presidential campaign of 1888 was begun.

CHAPTER XVII.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

The Convention of 1888—Mr. Blaine's Work in the Campaign—The Harrison Administration—Mr. Blaine's Second Term as Secretary of State—The Samoan Affair—Extradition—The Pan-American Conference—Reciprocity and Its Results—American Pork in European Markets—The Fisheries—Bering Sea—Controversies with Chili and with Italy—A Notable Chapter in American Diplomacy.

As the time for holding the National Republican Convention of 1888 drew near, the great mass of that party looked to Mr. Blaine as certain to be the chosen candidate. He was absent from the country, and, far from making any efforts to secure the nomination, was understood to be reluctant to receive it. But his friends would take no denial. Repeated reverses had only intensified their determination to put him in the Presidential chair. And since Mr. Cleveland was to be the Democratic candidate, on the platform indicated by his message of 1887, it seemed eminently fitting that Mr. Blaine, who had made such an effective reply to that message, should be selected to oppose him.

Mr. Cleveland was promptly nominated for a second term by the Democratic National Convention which met at St. Louis on June 5th. At the same time news came from Oregon that the

election in that State had resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory. The tariff had been the issue in the contest, and Mr. Cleveland's free trade doctrines had been squarely repudiated. This was a happy omen for the Republicans, and when their Convention met at Chicago, on June 19th, they were in high spirits and confident of victory at the polls in November. All was uncertainty as to their standard-bearer, however. Mr. Blaine had written from Florence, Italy, some months before, explicitly declaring that he was not a candidate. Yet many of his followers were determined to bring his name before the Convention. There were also strong movements in favor of other candidates, such as the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, of New York ; the Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio ; the Hon. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana ; the Hon. Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois ; and the Hon. Russel A. Alger, of Michigan. It was commonly felt, however, that the choice of the Convention would ultimately be decided by the vote of New York. Not only was the delegation from that State the most numerous, but it was recognized that its preference should have especial weight since New York was a doubtful and pivotal State, upon whose vote the result of the election would probably depend.

The platform adopted was strongly protectionist in tenor, and it also contained ringing utterances on the question of free and honest elections.

During the organization of the Convention and adoption of platform, which occupied two days, Mr. Blaine's name was cheered to the echo whenever it was mentioned, and the idea that he would be nominated in spite of himself steadily grew. When the various candidates were formally placed before the Convention, however, he was not among them. They were Messrs. Hawley, Gresham, Harrison, Alger, Allison, Depew, Sherman, Fittler and Rusk. When balloting began, several others were also voted for. California cast sixteen votes for Mr. Blaine, and he received enough scattering votes from other States to give him a total of 35. For the three ballots held on the first day of voting, Mr. Blaine's support remained at 35; although he would have been nominated by a whirlwind of acclamation at any moment when he had withdrawn his refusal to be considered as a candidate. That refusal, however, he did not withdraw. On the contrary, he made it known by cable from Great Britain that he resolutely adhered to and insisted upon it. On the first ballot, John Sherman had 229 votes, W. Q. Gresham 111, Chauncey M. Depew 99, R. A. Alger 84, and Benjamin Harrison 79. By the third ballot the withdrawal of minor candidates had increased the vote for these leaders, especially that for Alger. But no one was near the 415 needed. Then the Convention adjourned until the next day. The fifth ballot, the next day, saw

Mr. Blaine's vote increased to 42, while Sherman had 224, Gresham 87, Alger 142, and Harrison 213. Depew had been withdrawn in Harrison's favor. The Convention adjourned over Sunday, and on Monday ended its labors. On the eighth ballot Mr. Harrison was nominated, by 544 votes. Five delegates voted for Mr. Blaine to the very end.

In this result Mr. Blaine acquiesced most cordially and with not a trace of disappointment. He had voluntarily placed and kept himself out of the race. The men who had secured Harrison's nomination were Mr. Blaine's friends and followers, and they had chosen a man who was Mr. Blaine's friend, on a platform inspired by Mr. Blaine's own masterly presentation of the issues of the day. Amid the flood of congratulations that poured in upon the chosen candidate none was more hearty than Mr. Blaine's, and no one more earnestly than he entered upon the work of the campaign or more enthusiastically looked for victory at the polls.

Mr. Blaine returned from his European tour in August, arriving in New York on the tenth of that month. He was greeted with such public demonstrations of honor, joy and welcome as have fallen to the lot of few men in this or any other land. There was a parade of tens of thousands of enthusiastic Republicans, and the whole imperial metropolis seemed ablaze with

bunting and vocal with hurrahs. There was speech-making, of course, galore ; the best of it by Mr. Blaine himself. In the brief responses which he made to various addresses of welcome, he spoke with all his accustomed vigor and effect upon the living political issues of the day. Protection to American industry was the key-note ; and he added to his cogent arguments the impressive testimony of personal observation of the pauperized labor of the Old World.

From New York Mr. Blaine presently went to his old home in Maine, stopping at Boston and other points to receive the greetings of his fellow-citizens. A few weeks later he placed himself fully and actively at the head of his party in the campaign that was so hotly raging. He visited every important town and city in many States, addressing everywhere assemblages whose size was only limited by the walls of the containing buildings, or by the means of transportation thither. Sometimes he spoke at two or three or four meetings in one day. His physical strength seemed inexhaustible ; his eloquence grew even more and more stirring in each new effort ; his arguments and exhortations were irresistible. Down to the very eve of the election he kept at the work, winning every hour new voters for his party. And when the election was over, and Mr.

rison was handsomely victorious, there was
dissenting voice in the chorus that

attributed the lion's share of the credit to James G. Blaine.

Whatever hesitancy President Harrison may have had in the selection of the other members of his Cabinet, he doubtless had none regarding the Secretary of State. He was glad to honor the man who had so powerfully aided his campaign by giving to him that important post ; glad, too, thus to grant the well-nigh universal wish of his party. Nor were Republicans alone anxious to see Mr. Blaine a second time made Secretary of State. Multitudes of his political opponents rejoiced in the appointment, remembering his brilliant though brief administration in 1881, and knowing that in his hands the welfare of American interests and the honor of the American flag would be secure. Accordingly, Mr. Blaine returned, in March, 1889, to the office from which he had retired in December, 1881, and took up the work which had then been interrupted, a work for the welfare of the United States, and for the welfare of all other nations with whom this country comes in contact.

Early in Mr. Blaine's second administration of the State Department two highly important treaties were negotiated and ratified. One of these, arranged at Berlin, related to Samoa, where American, German and British interests came sharply into contact. The Germans had pursued an aggressive policy, had deposed the rightful

king and set up a pretender in his place, and were riding roughshod over the rights not only of the natives but of the American citizens settled there. Calmly but firmly Mr. Blaine, through the American Commissioners at Berlin, insisted upon a restoration, by the Germans themselves, of the deposed king, the recognition of equal rights and privileges for the three powers interested, the suppression of the sale of fire-arms and alcoholic liquors to the natives and various other reforms. To these demands Germany was constrained to yield, and the result was a signal triumph for the American foreign policy, and also for international comity.)

An attempt had been made by Mr. Blaine's predecessor to negotiate a new extradition treaty with Great Britain, but it had failed. Mr. Blaine began fresh negotiations on a new basis and soon succeeded in concluding a treaty which vastly enlarged and improved the list of extraditable offences.

An International Marine Conference, comprising representatives of thirty-three nations, was held at Washington, and formulated much valuable legislation for the better protection of travel by sea.

Still more important was the Pan-American Conference, which opened at Washington on October 2, 1889, in pursuance of the plans formed by Mr. Blaine in the Garfield administration but

unfortunately abandoned by his successor. This conference was in session twenty weeks, including an extended trip through most of the States of the Union. The objects of its consideration were : Measures that should tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the various American States ; measures toward the formation of an American Customs Union ; the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the various States ; the adoption of uniform systems of customs regulation, quarantine laws, weights and measures, patent rights, extradition, etc., and various other allied topics. It was not to be expected that every end in view would be immediately attained. But the discussions and reports were rich in permanent value to all the nations interested, and, as Mr. Blaine well said in a brief address at the close of the conference, that larger patriotism, which constitutes the fraternity of nations, received an impulse such as the world had not before seen.

Fittingly succeeding this came Mr. Blaine's proposal for an extended system of customs reciprocity, especially with the various States and colonies of the American continent. This was formally broached in a letter written by Mr. Blaine to the President and by him transmitted to Congress in June, 1890. Mr. Blaine submitted therewith the report upon "Customs Union" adopted by the Pan-American Conference, and

added some strong arguments of his own and a most impressive array of facts and figures, demonstrating the great advantages to be attained by the adoption of such a system. "To escape the delay of uncertainty of treaties," he wrote, "it has been suggested that a practicable and prompt mode of testing the question was to submit an amendment to the pending Tariff bill authorizing the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American Hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports free of all taxes our flour, corn meal and other bread stuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits," and a considerable number of other articles of agricultural and manufactory product.

Mr. Blaine had already personally urged upon the members of the committee of Congress in charge of the Tariff bill the desirability of such an amendment. The President now added thereto a message containing his own recommendations to the same effect, and Senator Hale finally offered an amendment to the Tariff bill formulated by Mr. McKinley, comprising the exact provisions suggested by Mr. Blaine. This amendment was adopted and the principle of reciprocity with American nations was thus embodied in the McKinley Tariff Bill, which in the fall of 1890 became a law.



EMMONS BLAINE.

Brazil was the first nation to accept the offer of reciprocal trade relations. The Spanish West Indies followed. Then came Santo Domingo. And presently other South and Central American nations and even the British colonies in the West Indies found it to their advantage to do the same. The results fully equalled the expectations of the author of the system. Almost immediately there was a great increase in the export trade of the United States to those countries, and since that time there has been a steady and almost significant increase of commercial relations between this country and its southern neighbors, to the present and permanent advantage of both.

Another highly important work in the interest of American commerce was effected by the State Department during Mr. Blaine's second administration thereof. Beginning with Italy in 1879, one European country after another had prohibited the importation of American pork, until, at the commencement of President Harrison's administration, that important product was practically excluded from the markets of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain and Turkey. This subject received at once the earnest attention of the President and his Secretary of State, and instructions concerning it were given to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the Minister at Paris, Mr. William Walter Phelps, the Minister at Berlin, and the other representatives of the

government abroad. A law was also passed providing for the inspection of meat products and empowering the President to prohibit in certain cases importations from countries excluding American pork from their markets. The result of this diplomacy and legislation was the removal of the prohibition by Austria-Hungary, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, all within less than nine months, and the markets of Europe were thus reopened to a vast and valuable American export trade.

For some years there had been more or less friction between America and England regarding the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters. In many instances intolerable hardships and outrages had been inflicted upon the fishermen, and their demand for redress was urgent. To this demand Mr. Blaine made prompt response, and showed himself easily the master of the Canadian and British officials in diplomatic controversy. Another still more important subject of contention between the two countries was that of sealing rights in Bering Sea. In virtue of its purchase of Alaska and the included waters from Russia, the United States claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the eastern portion of that sea, including the islands which are the resort of the great herds of fur-seals. For the protection of these valuable animals it adopted certain regulations concerning their capture, limiting the

annual catch to a certain number, and stationed revenue cutters in those waters to see that the law was observed. These regulations were defied by numerous poachers, who fitted out their vessels under the British flag in Canadian ports and who wrought incalculable mischief by promiscuous slaughter of the seals. The United States Government promptly ordered the capture and confiscation of all these vessels. Thereupon the poachers appealed to the Canadian Government, and it in turn appealed to the British Government, for protection, and a long and vigorous controversy ensued between Mr. Blaine and Lord Salisbury. The range of discussion included the rights of America in Bering sea, on historical and legal grounds, and also the practical necessity of protecting the seal herds from threatened destruction. At every stage of the controversy Mr. Blaine showed himself absolute master of the case and more than a match for his British antagonist. A *modus vivendi*, in accordance with the American demands, was finally established until such time as a permanent settlement of conflicting claims shall be effected. ✓

An important episode in the history of the State Department occurred in 1891 and 1892. At that time a popular revolution occurred in Chili against the President, Balmaceda, who had usurped dictatorial authority and was playing the part of a tyrant. The American Minister at Santiago,

Mr. Egan, was accredited to the Balmaceda government and could not, of course, recognize the revolutionary government until it had fully accomplished its purposes and become the sole and absolute authority. His position was a delicate one, and relations between the United States and the new government in Chili became much strained. A number of Americans were assaulted and some murdered in the streets of Valparaiso, and for a time there was loud talk of war between the two countries. Under Mr. Blaine's management the influence of the State Department was exerted in the direction of peace, and at the same time for a vindication of the honor of the American flag and the rights of American citizens; and in the end these objects were entirely and satisfactorily accomplished.

A controversy arose with Italy in 1891, over the lynching of several murderous criminals of Italian origin in New Orleans. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were for a time suspended. But Mr. Blaine, by masterly argument, first demonstrated the entire freedom of the United States Government from blame and responsibility in the matter, and then handsomely soothed Italian susceptibilities by voluntarily offering from the contingent fund of the State Department a liberal indemnity to the families of the men who had been lynched. Thus this

unpleasant incident was ended peacefully and honorably.

Of all the other activities of the State Department under Mr. Blaine's wise direction it is impossible here to speak. Many of these matters are still incomplete. Others are not yet fully understood by the world, so that much time must yet elapse before their full significance is seen and appreciated. But enough has already gone on record, read and known of all men, to assure the utmost confidence for the future, and to stamp Mr. Blaine's administration of the Department of State as not only one of the most brilliant periods in American diplomacy, but as a most notable era in the world's international history.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MAN.

Foreign Travels and Literary Work—*The London Times's* Estimate of "Twenty Years of Congress"—Mr. Blaine's Home at Augusta—His Washington House—His Bar Harbor Cottage—The Children of the Household—A Brief Glance at Some of Mr. Blaine's Personal Characteristics.

It is not the object of the present work to offer an analytical view of Mr. Blaine's private life and personal characteristics. Those subjects and their consideration belong to a time which, it is hoped, is still far distant in the future. The record of his public words and works is all that can fittingly occupy contemporary attention. But even this record is not complete without an outlined portrait of the man as he appears to his friends and associates in public life and as he conducts himself in the manifold activities of his busy career. During the years of his retirement from public office between 1881 and 1889, his time was largely occupied in European travel and in literary pursuits. Mention has already been made of his tour abroad, where he visited most of the important centres of interest of the Old World and formed the personal acquaintance of eminent people in many lands.

Early in 1884 he published the first volume of his great historical work, "Twenty Years of Congress," and in 1885 the second volume was issued. This work presents a comprehensive and impartial view of the life of the American nation from 1860 to 1880, prefaced by a careful consideration of the train of events which led to the political revolution of 1860. The book is too well known to the reading public of America to require extended notice here. It attracted wide attention throughout the world. English reviewers regarded it as one of the most important contributions to the standard literature of the day. "His book," said *The London Times*, "is in no sense a party manifesto; it is a careful narrative; popular, but not undignified in style, and remarkably fair and moderate in tone. He has expressed a decided opinion on all issues involved in the Civil War, but he is able to appreciate the arguments and respect the motives of those whom he holds to have been most widely mistaken."

Following this work in 1887 Mr. Blaine published a volume entitled "Political Discussions," in which were collected his most notable addresses and papers, legislative, diplomatic and popular, during the thirty years of his public life.

Mr. Blaine's home has been in Augusta, Maine, ever since he removed thither from Philadelphia.

During his official life he of course has had a second home in Washington, and of late years he has had also a summer home at Bar Harbor, Mount Desert Island. Each of these has been the resort of countless public men and each has always been open with a hearty welcome to Mr. Blaine's almost innumerable friends. The capital of Maine is a handsome little city on both banks of the Kennebec river, built on a series of terraces extending, one above the other, from the edge of the water. For a few years Mr. Blaine lived in one half of a double house on Green street. But in 1862 he purchased a large square house at the corner of State and Capital streets, opposite the grounds of the State House. It is a plain and unpretentious dwelling, but large and commodious and invested with an air of comfort, culture and hospitality. The visitor finds it well stocked with books and pictures, and in all respects the appropriate home of one who is at once a statesman, a scholar, and a man of the people.

At Washington Mr. Blaine purchased a fine lot on Dupont circle, in the northwestern part of the city, and erected thereon a large and splendid mansion. On its completion he lived there for a time and then, finding the house larger than he required, leased it and rented for his own occupancy a smaller house on Jackson square, near the White House.

His cottage at Bar Harbor is a typical American summer home, and is occupied by Mr. Blaine and his family for two or three months in each year.

The first child born to Mr. and Mrs. Blaine died in infancy. Six other children have grown to maturity, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Walker, was educated at Yale University and at the Law School of Columbia College. He chose to follow in his father's footsteps in political life, for which he showed extraordinary ability. For some time he was one of the counsel for the United States in the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims. At the beginning of the Harrison Administration, on March 13, 1889, he was made Examiner of Claims in the State Department. This important position he filled with distinction for only nine months, his death occurring on January 15, 1890. Thus was ended, to the bereavement of his family and the regret of the Nation, a career that promised to be comparable with that of his father in important and distinguished public services. The second son, Emmons Blaine, was educated at Harvard University, and has risen to an important place in Western railroad affairs. The youngest son, James G. Blaine, Jr., is destined for a business career.

The three daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Blaine were named Alice, Margaret and Harriet. The

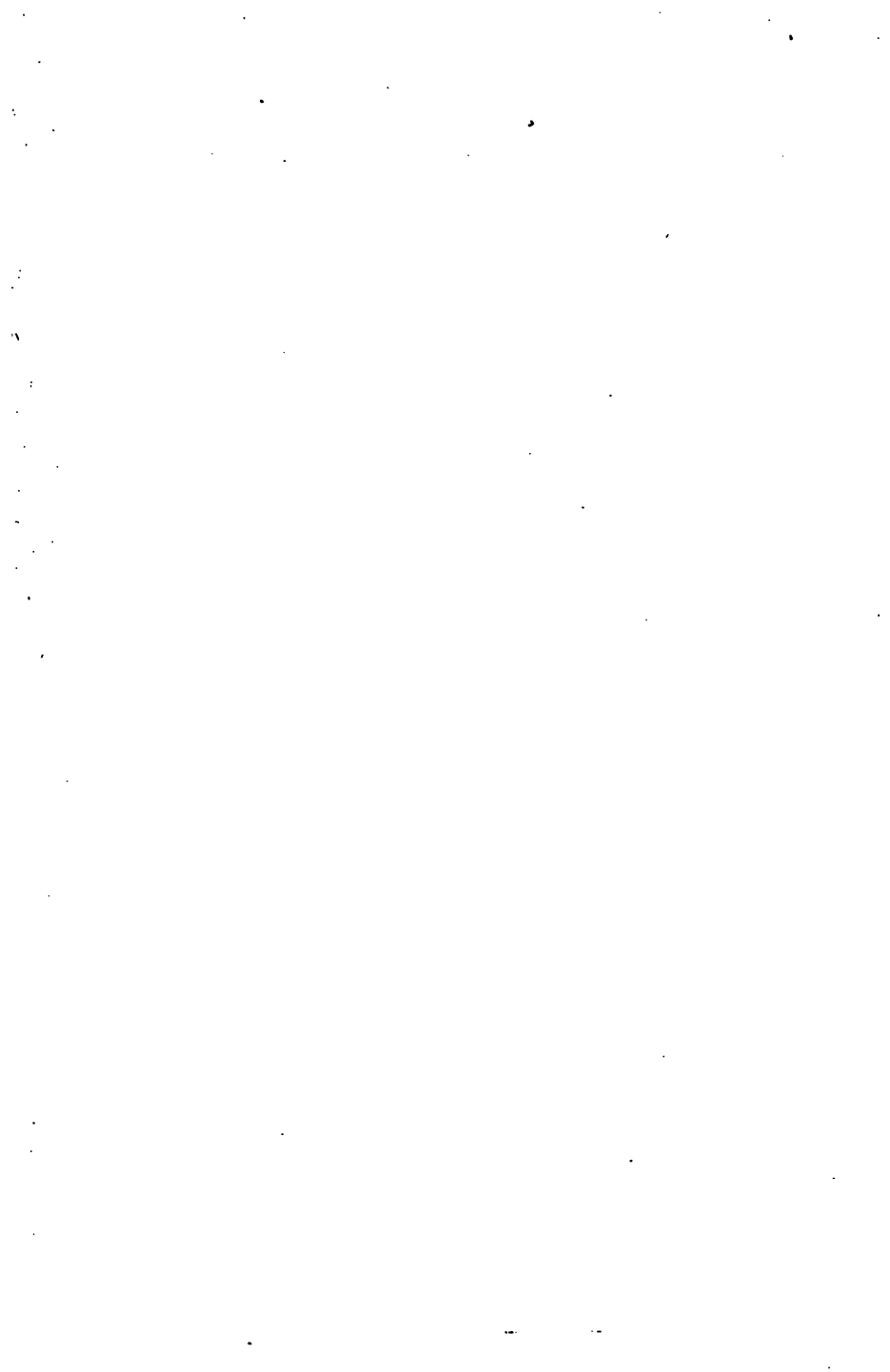
first was married to Colonel J. J. Coppinger, of the United States Army, and died a few years afterward. The second, Margaret, was married in May, 1890, to Mr. Walter Damrosch, of New York, a son of Dr. Leopold Damrosch, the famous musician, and himself one of the foremost musical composers and directors of this country.

It is inevitable that a man in public life, if he possess strong convictions and act upon them, will have opponents, and even enemies, as well as friends. Mr. Blaine is no exception to this rule. No man of his generation has been the target for more, or more bitter attacks; nor has any more triumphantly repulsed them. And no man has had more, or more devoted and enthusiastic, friends. Apart from his brilliant talents as a statesman, inspiring admiration and compelling devoted support, Mr. Blaine possesses a happy faculty of winning and holding personal friendship. His manner is unaffected and cordial. His memory of friends is extraordinary. He seems never to forget a face or a name. In the later years of his life, he has often met those whom he knew twenty or thirty years before, but had not seen or heard of in all that interval. He has never failed to recognize them and to "place" them, and to recall some associated incident of the olden time. His tact in dealing with men, whether friends or strangers, is unfailing and

unerring. And in all the relations of life, he appears to possess in the highest degree all those qualities which make a man a leader of men, a great public servant, a loved and trusted friend, and an entirely manly man.

THE END.

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